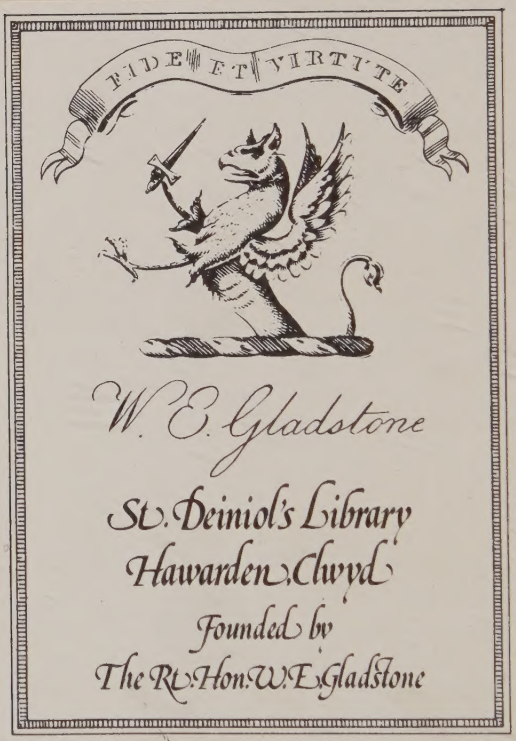
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VIRGIL AND ISAIAH

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VIRGIL AND ISAIAH

A STUDY OF THE POLLIO

WITH TRANSLATIONS, NOTES, AND APPENDICES

BY

THOMAS FLETCHER ROYDS, B.D.

AUTHOR OF

"THE BEASTS, BIRDS, AND BEES OF VIRGIL," ETC.

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ANNUNTIABITUR DOMINO GENERATIO VENTURA
ET ANNUNTIABUNT CAELI IUSTITIAM EIUS
POPULO QUI NASCETUR.

(Ps. xxii. 31.)

'Facesti come quei che va di notte,
Che porta il lume dietro, e sè non giova,
Ma dopo sè fa le persone dotte,
Quando dicesti : Secol si rinnuova ;
Torna guistizia, e 'l primo tempo umano
E progenie discende dal ciel nuova.'

DANTE : *Purg.* xxii. 67-72.

'L'Évangéliste Jean, le peintre Raphaël,
Ces deux beaux envoyés de l'amour éternel,
Ont un frère en Jésus, digne que Jésus l'aime,
Bien qu'il soit né païen et soit mort sans baptême ;
Virgile est celui-là : tant l'aimable douceur
Au vrai Dieu nous élève et fait toute âme sœur.
Donc, comme une couronne autour de l'Évangile,
Inscrivez ces trois noms : Jean, Raphaël, Virgile,
Le disciple fervent, le peintre au pur contour,
Le poète inspiré qui devina l'amour.'

AUGUSTE BRIZEUX.

PREFACE

THIS book is based on a lecture delivered to the Manchester Branch of the Classical Association in December, 1914. The writing and publication of it have been delayed about three years by ill-health and other causes; but perhaps three years of the Great War have speeded the pen as they have speeded the plough, and made it easier to write, if not easier to read.

It was written 'procul discordibus armis' (save for an occasional aeroplane droning high overhead) at the quiet limit of three converging counties—Cheshire, Shropshire, and Flintshire—and within sight of the blue mountains that brood over the lovely Vale of Llangollen and the River Dee:

> 'Flumina amem silvasque inglorius' (*Georg.* ii. 486).

Here are great herds of dairy cows, 'et pressi copia lactis.' Here one may lead the *βίος θεωρητικός*,[1] enjoying Virgil's 'divini gloria ruris,' and remembering somewhat sadly the last eight lines of the *Georgics*.[2] No one in these stern days can have what Milton calls 'a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, where we

[1] 'Contemplative life.'

[2] Quoted on p. 54.

behold the bright countenance of Truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies'; but perhaps one who cannot serve his country in the greatest way of all may comfort himself and others by helping to keep the lamp of Literature burning.

It savours of presumption for one man to traverse ground already covered by so able a triumvirate as the authors of *The Messianic Eclogue;* but their book appeared more than ten years ago, and the last three years seem equal to half a century. They remind us that the true measure of life is not its duration, but its intensity. They demand the re-writing of some history and the reinterpretation of some prophecies. Many nations are stretching out their hands unto God in new ways, and many among us are searching the Scriptures, not only of the Jews, but also of the Greeks and Romans, for guidance and comfort in the great tribulation and πειρασμός[1] through which the world is passing now.

> 'Tanton' placuit concurrere motu,
> Iuppiter, aeterna gentes in pace futuras?'
> (*Aen.* xii. 503).

During the great advance of the Italian Army in August, 1917, also during the disasters that befell it later in the same year, I was writing almost daily, and often wondered what Italian scholars were saying about their greatest poet. The joy of visiting Virgil's country has been indefinitely postponed by the war. But the kind reception given to my *Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil* has made me cherish the

[1] 'And lead us not into πειρασμόν' (Lord's Prayer).

hope of some day attempting a commentary on the whole of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* for 'English' readers, or those who have 'little Latin and less Greek.' I humbly trust that such readers will not be frightened by the first three sections of this book, but will have the patience to read further, and judge how far I may claim to have interpreted Virgil as a prophet, with a message for our own times. He was a great prophet, and I have ventured to compare him freely with a greater. But the task of interpreting Isaiah is complicated by the fact that he *spoke* his prophecies, and that the text of the Book that bears his name is often corrupt, and its date and authorship uncertain. The *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, on the other hand, received the final touches of their master's hand; and in the fourth *Eclogue* the reading is only doubtful in one passage of importance.

The Roman Church has never canonized Virgil, but St. Jerome, in his letter to Paulinus, prefixed to the Vulgate, calls him a 'Christian without Christ,' and proceeds to quote the sixth and seventh lines of the *Eclogue*. He was a favourite with Bede, Anselm, and Augustine, among others; and all readers of Comparetti know what a large place he filled in the sentiment of Christian antiquity. 'If a modern man,' said Goethe, 'must pick out faults in so great an ancient, he ought only to do it upon his knees.'

A modern man will not be surprised to find that Virgil lacks the missionary spirit of Isaiah. There is, for instance, nothing in his poems quite comparable to Isa. xix. 23-25, which comes very near the

truth that in the spread of Christianity lies the only sure remedy for Armageddons and Yellow Perils:

'Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis' (*Aen.* i. 291).

But even here, as in all pre-Christian literature, we miss the central fact that 'Christianity is Christ.' Other kingdoms may do without a king, but in historic Christianity the kingdom of God centres round the Person of the Son of God.

With regard to the spelling of Virgil's name, 'for my part I feel no disposition to pass all my own life in the wilderness of pedantry, in order that a posterity which I shall never see may one day enter an orthographical Canaan.'[1] It is enough for me that the eminent Italian scholar, Ettore Stampini, sanctions 'Virgilio,' which he says is 'una forma consacrata dalla tradizione secolare Italiana.' The great Benjamin Hall Kennedy was of the same opinion. The Introduction to his Virgil, written in 1875, ends with the words: 'Virgilius in Latin is indefensible; but while we write Vergilius only, it may be long before the Italians give up their long-cherished Virgilio, the French their Virgile, and we English our familiar VIRGIL.'

It only remains for me to thank Mr. Warde Fowler for reading the manuscript and proof-sheets of yet another book of mine, and making many valuable suggestions; and also Professor Conway and Mr. L. E. Upcott for reading and criticizing

[1] Matthew Arnold, *On Translating Homer*.

the hexameter version of the *Eclogue*. The final responsibility for everything in the book rests solely upon the author, who is greatly indebted to the publisher for the care he has expended upon its production at a very difficult time.

T. F. R.

THE VICARAGE,
TUSHINGHAM, CHESHIRE.
February, 1918.

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ABBREVIATIONS:

DB. = Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.*

M.E. = *The Messianic Eclogue*, by Conway, Warde Fowler, and Mayor.

VIRGIL AND ISAIAH

A STUDY OF THE FOURTH ECLOGUE

§1. INTRODUCTORY

THE fourth *Eclogue* is still the battle-ground of commentators. 'The poem has suffered by the ridiculous—and, if it were not sincere, I might have said blasphemous—notion . . . that the fourth *Eclogue* contained an inspired Messianic prophecy.' So writes Mr. Sidgwick. Mr. Mackail is of much the same opinion: 'The fourth *Eclogue* unfortunately has been so long and so deeply associated with purely adventitious ideas that it requires a considerable effort to read it as it ought to be read. The curious misconception which turned it into a prophecy of the birth of Christ outlasted in its effects any serious belief in its historical truth; even modern critics cite Isaiah for parallels, etc.' The great German commentator, Heyne, luxuriates in five and a half octavo pages of eloquent contempt. Here are two specimens in the original:

'In hac Ecloga interpretanda dici vix potest, quam inanem operam et olim Grammatici et hinc viri docti vana religione pti navaverint. . . .'

'Enimvero quorsum bonum otium contero in exponendis opinationibus et ariolationibus, in quibus nihil ad liquidum perduci potest.'

On the other hand, there is a remarkable agreement among Christian divines from Constantine onwards. S. Augustine even saw in the 13th and 14th lines a distinct prediction of the remission of sins. S. Jerome, however, was sceptical. Pope Innocent III. quoted the 7th line, 'Iam nova progenies,' in a Christmas sermon. Virgil as a prophet of Christ is common in Christian art—for instance, in the stalls of the cathedral of Zamora in Spain, belonging to the twelfth century, where he appears among Old Testament saints. Martyn, who wrote less than two centuries ago, says: 'The child was without doubt our blessed Saviour.'[1]

The fact is that Constantine set the evil example of interpreting Virgil after the manner of those who turn Sennacherib into the German Emperor, and S. John's Beast into the Church of Rome. According to him, Virgil knew he was a prophet of Christ, but veiled his prophecy under an allegory, for fear of persecution.[2] 'Virgo' becomes the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the lions are the persecutors of the Church. The serpent is our enemy the tempter of Genesis iii. All this makes one feel thankful, with Professor Conway, that Constantine has not laid hands on the saffron-coloured rams.[3]

[1] But he also supports the Marcellus theory. See Appendix A, note 1.

[2] *Cf.* note on *Eclogue* iv. 36.

[3] When, ten years ago, I ventured to translate 'sandyx,' etc.,

Dismissing for the moment the Christian interpretation, we have two suggestions to consider:

1. The child was that of Octavian and Scribonia, who turned out to be a girl—namely, the infamous Julia.

2. The child was the son of Pollio, who has given his name to this *Eclogue*.[1]

Mr. Sidgwick says that to speak of the child as a boy, as Virgil does, would have left a chance of his prophecy being made ridiculous, as it actually would have been, if the first suggestion is right. Moreover, the words 'Begin, little boy,' are plain proof that the child was already born, and was a boy. Therefore it must be the child of Pollio. Sellar agrees with him. 'We may put aside at once' the first suggestion. Virgil would not have let his prophecy stand after it had been falsified by the sex of the child.

Frederick Myers, on the other hand, says: 'There can surely be little doubt' that the child was Julia.

The confidence of commentators should make us very diffident.[2]

---

by 'vestments of scarlet,' I did not realize what an opportunity the learned Emperor had missed.

[1] 'Chanter of the Pollio, glorying in the blissful years again to be,
Summers of the snakeless meadow, unlaborious earth and oarless sea.'

TENNYSON: *To Virgil.*

[2] But it is nothing new. Commentators on the Book of Job have said far more wonderful things about Elihu. S. Augustine calls his language 'as wise as it was modest.' S. Gregory

Who was Virgil's divine child? We will now consider a third suggestion. In 1907 there appeared in the *Expositor* for June and August two articles by Sir W. M. Ramsay, which students of this *Eclogue* should search out and peruse. In the course of them he says: 'It is a total misconception of Virgil's intention, to look for any reference to an actual human child.' To suppose that Virgil meant a boy, who unfortunately turned out to be a girl, is 'too ludicrous for anyone but a confirmed literary and "higher" critic.' It ill becomes Professor Ramsay to speak scornfully of higher criticism, especially when he applies it so dogmatically himself in this case. But his suggestion is a valuable one. For him the child is the new Roman people that is to be. He thus brings Virgil into line with the author of Isaiah xl. to lxvi., whose portrait of the 'Servant of Yahweh' seems to mean the ideal Israel of the future.

A new religion was needed for the consolidation of the Roman Empire. Was it to be Imperialism or Christianity? Virgil stands at the parting of the ways, and perhaps we may read Professor Ramsay's meaning into the poem. The cult of Imperial Rome was developed by Domitian, and lies hid in Virgil's great lines:

---

thought him a type of folly and arrogance. The Venerable Bede saw in him a forerunner of the foes of Christ. Others have mistaken him for the devil in disguise. But Coleman, who wrote in 1869, boldly identifies him with the Second Person of the Trinity!

'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hae tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.'
(*Aen.* vi. 851.[1])

Great prophecies may contain two or more meanings which are not mutually exclusive. The Book of Isaiah says nothing about Christ, but he who fails to see the figure of Christ reflected in it must be blind indeed. Conversely, Professor Ramsay may be right in seeing the ideal 'populus Romanus' in Virgil's poem, but there can be no doubt that the primary meaning of 'puer' is not a people, but a real child. It is true that Virgil could have used 'puella' if he had meant a girl, but 'puer' can mean a child of either sex, so that the objection of Sidgwick and Sellar to Julia need not be taken seriously. The last four lines of the poem, *which Professor Ramsay ignores*, present us with a very human babe, and also with a very difficult critical problem, to which we will return later.[2]

In October, 1907, the same year in which Professor Ramsay wrote, there appeared *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue, Its Meaning, Occasion, and Sources; Three Studies*, by Joseph B. Mayor, W. Warde Fowler, and R. S. Conway. All future studies of the fourth *Eclogue* must be based largely upon this excellent

[1] 'Thou, Roman, rule, and o'er the world proclaim
The ways of peace. Be these thy victories,
To spare the vanquished and the proud to tame.
These are imperial arts, and worthy of thy name.'
(Fairfax-Taylor's version.)

[2] See Appendix A.

book, but for which the present work might never have been written. It is a treasury of accumulated learning on the subject, and if references to it are not always acknowledged, it is only because they are so many that to acknowledge them all would be tedious. Professor Conway deals with the Messianic Idea, Mr. Warde Fowler with the child, and the Rev. J. B. Mayor with the sources of the poem. The three essays were written independently, but all to some extent cover the same ground, and reach the same conclusion. This is, briefly, that Virgil's expected Messiah can be no other than one of the Caesars.[1] Mr. Warde Fowler points out that Henry Nettleship shared this view, and he refers to his *Ancient Lives of Vergil*,[2] p. 39. A still more valuable passage, to my mind, will be found on p. 47:

'The coming child, says Vergil, is to rule the world with the manly virtues of his father; he is the offspring of gods, and another Jove is to grow from him; of whom could the poet say this but of the offspring of the Caesars? . . . I am aware that Servius, as well as Macrobius (if indeed both names do not rather represent the same comment), apply this poem to the child of Pollio, and among modern critics Ribbeck and Sellar have taken the same view. Yet I find it difficult to imagine that in face of the circumstances of the time and the present power of the triumvirs Vergil would have ventured to point to the offspring of Asinius Pollio as destined to govern

[1] See especially pp. 37 to 39, 83 to 84, and 112 of their book.
[2] The spelling is Nettleship's.

and regenerate the Roman world, even if, in any case, his language could have been applied to the family of the Asinii without gross exaggeration. But a child of the Julian gens might fairly be called "deum suboles." Iulus in the ninth *Aeneid* is "*dis genite et geniture deos;*" even Julius Caesar was not free from the vanity of tracing his descent from Venus;[1] and I incline therefore to refer this *Eclogue* to the expected child of Octavianus and Scribonia, and to compare its language with the verses in the sixth *Aeneid* (792 et seq.), where Augustus is spoken of as the restorer of the golden age.'

Sellar's witness is interesting, because it does not tend to establish his own conclusion. He notices 'the weariness and longing for rest, the revival of Roman and Italian feeling, the pride of empire, the charm of ancient memories and associations, the aspiration after a better life and a firmer faith,' which we find in Virgil and the poets of his time. Then he goes on, 'But further, the expression of these feelings is made subordinate to the personal glory of Augustus, who stands out as the central and commanding figure in all their representations.' He illustrates this with five references to Horace, and six to Virgil, including the passage referred to by Nettleship above:[2]

> 'See now thy Romans; thither bend thine eyes,
> And Caesar and Iulus' race behold,
> Waiting their destined advent to the skies.
> This, this is he—long promised, oft foretold

---

[1] *Cf. Georg.* i. 28. [2] Sellar's *Virgil*, p. 14.

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Augustus Caesar. He the Age of Gold,
God-born himself, in Latium shall restore,
And rule the land, that Saturn ruled of old,
And spread afar his empire and his power
To Garamantian tribes, and India's distant shore.

'Beyond the planets his dominions lie,
Beyond the solar circuit of the year,
Where Atlas bears the starry-spangled sky.
E'en now the realms of Caspia shuddering hear
His coming, made by oracles too clear.
E'en now Maeotia trembles at his tread,
And Nile's seven mouths are troubled, as in fear
She shrinks reluctant to the deep, such dread
Hath seized the wondering world, so far his fame hath spread.'

(*Aen.* vi. 792. Fairfax-Taylor.)

There is a saying that the best commentary on the Bible is the Bible itself. If we follow the authors of the *Messianic Eclogue* and apply it to Virgil, there can be no doubt that the expected child is the child of Augustus, or Octavian, as he then was, and his wife Scribonia. Virgil's deification of Julius and Augustus in the other *Eclogues* and the first *Georgic*[1]—he boldly uses the word 'deus'—should suffice to convince anyone who still doubts this.

'This youth at least forbid ye not to save
A fallen generation.' (*Georg.* i. 500.)

Julius Caesar has been cut off untimely, and this is the same Octavian whom Virgil speaks of as a youth, to whom a monthly sacrifice is offered, in *Eclogue* i. 43. He was born in 63 B.C., and received

[1] See *Eclogues* i. and v. and ix. 47; and *Georg.* i. 24 to 42, and 466 to end.

the title of Augustus in 27 B.C. He married Scribonia in 40 B.C., the year in which the fourth *Eclogue* was written, and in the following year she bore him the child Julia, and was divorced the same day.

The theory that the child is the son of Pollio probably originated in the story of Asconius, a Roman scholar, who says that he had it direct from Asinius Gallus, the son of Pollio, that he was the intended child. It is quite possible that this was a deliberate falsehood on the part of Asinius Gallus; but the main point is, as Mr. Warde Fowler insists, that Asconius, who died only about forty years after the *Eclogue* was published, did not really know who the child was. If he did not know, it was evidently even then a matter of opinion among scholars, and Asinius Gallus may have taken advantage of the fact to try and secure for himself an unclaimed niche in the temple of fame.

But the chief objection to the Pollio theory lies in the internal evidence supplied by the poem itself. Pollio certainly had a share in the Peace of Brundisium (40 B.C.), but this fact will not bear the weight of line 17, especially when it is considered with the two lines that lead up to it. 'A world to which *his father's virtues* have brought peace' would be too much to say of a child of Pollio. And if the child is Pollio's own, why does not Virgil salute Pollio as the father, instead of merely saying that the child will be born *during his consulship?* He makes no secret of Pollio's name. Surely no critic would swallow this

Bactrian camel if he were not anxious to disprove some rival theory.[1] Munro, a distinguished supporter of the Pollio party, wrote a valuable note on line 49[2] (quoted by Dr. Mayor), in which he tried to explain away the natural meaning of 'deum suboles.' He considers 'offspring of the gods' unmeaning, as the father was 'a living mortal man,' and he therefore gives to 'suboles' the meaning of 'a child with the nature and qualities which gods have.' But if Augustus is Virgil's 'deus,' there is nothing surprising in 'deum suboles.'

'Iovis incrementum' in the same line is more difficult to translate. Munro's rendering, 'promise of a Jove to be,' is probably a faithful one.[3] The best illustration seems to be Ovid's 'Vipereos dentes, populi incrementa futuri,' where the sense is clearly that the viper's teeth have in them the germs or embryos of the future human crop. The late Professor Robinson Ellis thought 'embryo' the nearest English equivalent, and compared 'Dis genite et geniture deos,' the line quoted above by Nettleship in another context. In other words, 'suboles' is retro-

[1] This view is further supported by the reference to Apollo, the patron saint of Augustus (*Eclogue* iv. 10).

[2] This line is quoted almost bodily from the *Ciris* (397), a Virgilian minor poem now generally attributed to Gallus, who was a friend of Virgil. See Skutsch, *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, 1901 and 1906; and Mackail, *Classical Review*, 1908, p. 65. Mr. Mackail shows that Virgil borrowed freely from the *Ciris*.

[3] *Cf.* Nettleship (*Vergil*, p. 32, Classical Writers series): 'He is the offspring of gods, and another Jove is to spring from him.'

spective, while 'incrementum' is prospective. Page thinks '"Iovis incrementum" can only mean the thing or person whence a Jupiter shall grow.' But some other scholars think it can mean several other things. M. Cartault explains it by 'Jupiter sera grandi par la naissance d'un tel enfant.' Similarly, Meineke (quoted by Conington) 'thinks the notion is that of the child regarded as an honour or pleasure to his father Jupiter, and gives as the Greek equivalent of the words, *Διὸς μέγα ὄφελος*, or *Διὸς μέγ' ὄνειαρ*.' The Berne scholia, on the other hand, suggest that it means 'cui Iuppiter magnum dederit incrementum,' *i.e.*, 'augmentum': 'whom Jupiter delights to honour.' Keightley, probably copying Heyne, says '*διοτρεφὴς*,[1] the nurseling or favourite of Jupiter.' Finally, Dr. Mayor, in a learned appendix to his essay, compares Num. xxxii. 14, where the Vulgate has 'incrementa et alumni hominum peccatorum,' 'an increase of sinful men' (A.V. and R.V.). The Septuagint has *σύστρεμμα*, 'a crowd' or 'band,' which does not help us. *Σύστρεμμα* is used again in 2 Sam. iv. 2, where the Hebrew word is quite different. The Hebrew תִּרְבּוּת is only found in this passage, and means 'brood,' in a contemptuous sense. The verb רָבָה means to be or make great, to increase or multiply, transitively or intransitively. It is common enough in the Old Testament.

I fear, therefore, that further investigation does

[1] The Lexicon of Facciolati, under *incrementum*, has: '*διοτρεφής*. Heroes enim ac reges a Iove nutriri dicebantur.'

not tend to strengthen the force of Dr. Mayor's allusion to the Vulgate. I venture to suggest, very tentatively, that 'incrementum' may be regarded as a loose equivalent of 'shoot' or 'branch' in Isa. xi. 1 (חֹטֶר and נֵצֶר).[1] The French 'rejeton' occurs here, and also in Num. xxxii. 14, and gives the sense excellently.

But when all is said and done, I have a strong suspicion that a good deal of this meticulous labour, fascinating as it is to a scholar, is beside the mark. To 'peep and botanize' upon a poet's words is to forget that they are usually chosen for poetical, and not for scientific reasons. It is strange how often commentators ignore this rather obvious fact. Probably Virgil himself would have refused to arbitrate between his interpreters, and would have allowed us to choose any meaning that 'incrementum' fairly bears, or even all that it fairly contains. 'Et vitula tu dignus et hic.' He began his line with 'Cara deum suboles,' and his inspiration prompted him to swell the note with some fine-sounding synonym, or majestic variation on the same theme. Modern poets often find rhyme useful, and Virgil needed the sound and rhythm as well as the sense of 'incrementum.'

Note.—Since writing the above I have come across the following passage in Sir Oliver Lodge's *Raymond*: 'The tendency of a simple word to have many glancing meanings—like shot silk, as Tennyson put

[1] *Cf.* Jer. xxiii. 5 and xxxiii. 15, where another word, צֶמַח, is used. Isaiah has it in iv. 2, and Zechariah in iii. 8 and vi. 12. It means something springing from the ground.

it—is a character of high literary value; though it may be occasionally inconvenient for scientific purposes.'[1]

Tennyson's words are: 'Poetry is like shot silk with many glancing colours. Every reader must find his own interpretation according to his ability, and according to his sympathy with the poet' (Tennyson's *Life*, vol. ii., p. 127).

§ 2. IS THE CHILD HUMAN OR DIVINE? THE PARALLEL WITH ISAIAH

THE first point to remember is that in the pre-Christian world there was no hard and fast line between God and man. Virgil's critics are not, in my judgment, sufficiently aware of this fact. The Old Testament is full of excellent illustrations. If the A.V. and R.V. are compared with the Hebrew and the Septuagint, it will be seen how easily God and man may have been confused. In Gen. vi. 1-4 'sons of God' appears to mean angels, or superhuman beings of some kind, and is best explained as a piece of primitive mythology. In Dan. iii. 25 and vii. 13 the A.V. rendering 'the Son' is quite inadmissible. In Job i. 6 Satan is one of the sons of God.[2] If I may quote what I have written elsewhere:[3]

'With the title "sons of God" should be compared "sons of men," or "sons of the prophets."

[1] P. 289.

[2] See Davidson's *Theology of the Old Testament*, p. 300.

[3] *Job and the Problem of Suffering*, p. 9.

"Son of" is a descriptive expression (*e.g.*, "son of wickedness," Ps. lxxxix. 22). They are spiritual beings or angels, and frequently mentioned in the Old Testament. In addition to xxxviii. 7, the following Psalms should be compared, with the R.V. and margins: xxix. 1; lxxxix. 5 to 7; and xcvii. 7. The LXX. in the first two has *υἱοὶ θεοῦ*, in the last *ἄγγελοι*.' In Ps. viii. 5 the A.V. follows the LXX., and the R.V. the later Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. 'Thou hast made him but little lower than God' is probably[1] right; but the Hebrew words *El* and *Elohim* are, as every Hebraist knows, applied to angels and men as well as to God and the gods. *Elohim* is used of Moses and Aaron (Ex. iv. 16 and vii. 1), and perhaps of judges (*ib.* xxi. 6 and xxii. 8 and 9). In 1 Sam. xxviii. 13, Samuel's ghost is called *Elohim*, but becomes 'an old man' in the following verse.

The root meaning of *El* is 'mighty one,' whether human or divine. Ezekiel (xxxi. 11) applies it to Nebuchadnezzar. (*Cf.* Ps. lxxxii. 1, '*Elohim* standeth in the congregation of *El*,' in the three English versions.) It appears in the titles of Isaiah's famous 'Prince of the Four Names' (Isa. ix. 6).

The literary parallels with Isaiah are numerous and obvious, but I venture to think there is a deep spiritual affinity between Isaiah and Virgil, far more remarkable than any mere similarity of language. The most striking passage is the well-known prophecy of the 'Prince of the Four Names' (ix. 6), which

[1] Dr. Davidson doubted it (*Old Testament Theology*, p. 294).

Dr. Mayor compares with 'magnum Jovis incrementum.' It is usually translated 'Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God (or God-Hero), Everlasting Father (or Father of Eternity), Prince of Peace.' Dr. Mayor justly complains that it is very inadequately rendered in the LXX. by Μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος; but he does not add that it is more fully rendered by the other versions thus: Μεγάλης κ.τ.λ., θαυμαστὸς, σύμβουλος, ἰσχυρὸς, ἐξουσιαστὴς, ἄρχων εἰρήνης, πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. For the last phrase the Vulgate has 'pater futuri saeculi,' which has a curiously Virgilian ring. The Hebrew can also mean 'father of booty,' *i.e.*, divider of the spoil; and many eminent scholars render it thus. The word occurs again in Isa. xxxiii. 23, 'prey of a great spoil divided.' The phrase 'divide the spoil' is also used in the English versions of ix. 3 and lii. 12, but עַד ('prey') does not occur there. 'Mighty God' occurs in the plural in Ezek. xxxii. 21, and is there rendered 'the strong among the mighty,' who, moreover, are lying in Sheol. They are probably primæval giants or heroes.

If anyone, after considering the above facts, still thinks that the passage may be understood of 'a God in the metaphysical sense,' or as a direct prediction of the Divinity of Christ, let him turn to the glowing pages of that prince of expositors, Professor Sir George Adam Smith, and he will find the question discussed with a rare combination of brilliant scholarship and Christian piety, and answered with an emphatic negative.

The following are the main reasons for this

conclusion. Even if the usual rendering is correct, every one of the Four Names is perfectly applicable to a human ruler. To a Western mind 'Eternal Father' is a Divine Name, but the Hebrews freely ascribed eternity to things that perish, and it is not unusual in Oriental titles.[1] Moreover, the functions of this Messiah are simply those of a good and great earthly King. A deeper reason is that monotheism, or rather anti-polytheism, is central in Isaiah's teaching. 'It would simply have nullified the force of his message, and confused the generation to which he brought it, if either he or they had conceived of the Messiah, with the conceiving of Christian theology, as a separate Divine personality.'[2] And if Isaiah had intended to proclaim a Second Divine Person, is it conceivable that he would have expressed himself so ambiguously, and afterwards remained so silent about him? And would later prophets have failed so conspicuously to understand him?

We are thus led to the somewhat paradoxical conclusion that whereas Virgil's Messiah may have been divine or semi-divine, Isaiah looked for no more than a human being, endued with singular gifts of the Holy Ghost.[3] He needed an antidote to Ahaz, 'the Judas of the Old Testament,' whose weak and vacillating character was the natural outcome of polytheism; and he found it in an ideal King, whose God was afterwards called 'the LORD our Right-

[1] See עַד and עוֹלָם in the *New Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*.

[2] Adam Smith, *Isaiah*, vol. i., p. 137.

[3] Compare his development of this conception in chapter x.

eousness,'[1] and 'the High and Lofty One that inhabiteth Eternity, whose name is Holy' (Isa. lvii. 15). It is just because of the loftiness of his theology that he cannot call his Messiah 'Deus,' while Virgil can. And there is a moral grandeur about the older prophet which raises him above the pagan, as an eagle soars above a swan. 'The zeal of the Lord of Hosts will perform this' (ix. 7). But Virgil is with him in spirit, and this will become clearer as we study both prophets more closely.

Old-fashioned scholars, in their anxiety to read Christian dogmatic theology into pre-Christian writings, were apt to lose sight of the fact that a prophet's message is first and foremost to his own times. To have encouraged the men of Isaiah's age to look for a Messiah seven centuries after they were cut off from God and man in Sheol would have been to mock them. Yet even the great Bishop Butler defined prophecy as history written before the event. Modern scholarship, with its juster perspective and sounder principles of exegesis, takes us nearer the truth, and therefore nearer to Him Who is the Truth. If we will but have courage, faith, and patience, it gives us more than it takes from us. At first a sense of loss may be uppermost; but as we extend and deepen our studies, we shall find ourselves more and more rejoicing with those that divide the rich spoils of critical research and discovery.

[1] This is Jeremiah's phrase (xxiii. 6 and xxxiii. 16).

§ 3. IMMANUEL

One of the essential tests of truth is that it cannot contradict itself. Let us see if the results of further study of the Book of Isaiah are consistent with the conclusion reached above.

The greatest of Isaiah's ideal figures, the Prince of the Four Names, stands between two other figures which complete his portrait. They do not take us so near to Virgil, and may be dismissed more briefly. Immanuel (vii. 14) means 'God with us,' and is not a distinct Divine Name. It occurs again in viii. 8, where it should probably be translated 'For with us is God.' The Septuagint agrees with this: μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός. In the tenth verse the Vulgate falls into line, with 'quia nobiscum Deus,' while oddly enough the German version has 'denn hier ist Immanuel.' 'Gott mit uns,' all too familiar to us now, was the battle-cry of Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War. Isaiah's Immanuel is a human child, who will bring the Presence of God to His people.

Who this child is remains an entirely unsolved problem. Isaiah is much vaguer here than Virgil. It may be worth while to notice in passing that Isaiah's 'Virgin' can no more be identified with the Mother of Christ than can Virgil's 'Virgo.' The Hebrew word עַלְמָה simply means a mature young woman, maiden or married. בְּתוּלָה, the usual word for virgin, might easily have been employed

here. It is used in Isa. xxiii. 4 and 12. The LXX. has παρθένος, but the other Greek versions more accurately νεᾶνις, with which the German 'Jungfrau' and French 'une jeune femme' correspond.

'Butter and honey'[1] are parallel to the feast of fat things in the *Eclogue*,[2] but are usually explained as the food of privation, in a land wasted by war, and lying untilled. This is the meaning of verse 22.[3] Bread may grow scarce, but butter, or rather 'curds,' will be obtainable so long as cows can find pastures; and the work of bees, especially wild bees, which abounded in Palestine, will not be hindered except, alas, by disease.

§ 4. THE IDEAL KING

In chapter xi. the Messiah comes before us again as 'a shoot out of the stock of Jesse'; and in xxxii. 1 and xxxiii. 17 as an ideal King. It is remarkable that there is no definite connecting link between these varying conceptions, and still more remarkable that the personality of the Messiah is becoming less prominent. The actual title 'Messiah,' be it remembered, is never used by Isaiah at all; it occurs only in the second part of the Book,[4] and there it is applied to Cyrus, a very human ruler. Isaiah seems to be

[1] *Cf.* Job xx. 17, and Ovid, *Met.* i. 111. [2] iv. 30.

[3] But Canon Box and others regard this verse as an explanatory gloss.

[4] Commonly known as 'Deutero-Isaiah.'

gradually shaking himself free from the limitations which he inherited from the thought of his age. A monarchical people cannot conceive of a kingdom without a King. But earthly Kings are not perfect; and even Hezekiah, who was Isaiah's Augustus, could hardly be the Prince whose portrait he had been inspired to paint with such amazing boldness. The real King of Israel is the Lord of hosts (vi. 5 and xxxiii. 22); and this truth is never far from Isaiah's thoughts. As the Book develops, the earthly King recedes, and the kingdom of God is enlarged. A highway is being prepared for the Gospel doctrine, 'The Kingdom of God is within you.' When we reach the post-exilic passage (chapters xxxiv. and xxxv.) the Messiah has entirely vanished.

But the kingdom is still an earthly one. It implies the redemption of Nature from her groaning and travailing; a thoroughly Virgilian picture, but one of more than Virgilian beauty. 'The wilderness and the parched land shall be glad; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the narcissus. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing; the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon; they shall see the glory of the Lord, the excellency of our God.' Then the thought of chapter xi. is revived. It is all summed up in Virgil's line:

'Aspice venturo laetentur ut omnia saeclo' (*Eclogue* iv. 52).

And finally, 'the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come with singing unto Sion; and everlasting

joy shall be upon their heads; they shall obtain gladness and joy, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.'

Israel is to come home; but home, as Dr. Adam Smith points out, meant the Temple, and the Temple meant God. The centre of the restored life is no longer the King, as in Isaiah's day, but the Temple at Sion. The heavenly Jerusalem is not yet in sight. The future life is only seen 'through a glass darkly,' in two chapters of uncertain date, xxv. and xxvi. Virgil's sixth *Aeneid* has had far more influence on what Christian theologians have written about heaven and hell and 'the intermediate state,' than the whole Book of Isaiah.

The Messiah of Old Testament hopes is an earthly King; and his kingdom, however spiritual, is a kingdom of this world, 'a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, and wines on the lees well refined' (xxv. 6). It remained for S. John to transfer this conception to another world (Rev. vii. 16, etc.). 'My kingdom is not of this world' was a hard saying to the first disciples. Luke xxiv. 21 and Acts i. 6 show us how little it had penetrated their minds. 'Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?' The question gave place soon to the watchword, 'The Lord is at hand;' and when this earnest expectation had fulfilled its purpose, it died in like manner—that is to say, it took its place among those many illusions of faith, whose husk has perished, but whose kernel endures for all time.

It is important to recognize the difference between the Christ of prophecy and the Christ of history, else we shall be in danger of making the very mistake which those Jews made who crucified the Son of God. They crucified Him precisely because He did not fulfil the Scriptures 'in their natural and grammatical sense,' but spiritualized and transcended them to a degree that certainly was not present to the minds of the prophets themselves. Virgil's Messiah and the Jewish Messiah are alike in this respect, that the Christ as we have learned Him transcends both. 'We believe in a Divine and eternal Saviour, because the work of salvation as we understand it in the light of the New Testament is essentially different from the work of the wisest and best earthly King.'[1]

It may seem unnecessary to apologize at such length for views which, substantially, are now the common property of all scholars, and may be gleaned from any good commentary; but experience has taught me that it is very necessary, for the sake of those readers who have read Isaiah from childhood without questioning the headings of the chapters in the Authorized Version, and may unconsciously attribute to him much that is derived only from the New Testament and Christian experience; or, as in the case of Judaism, and the Prussian form of Christianity, may allow the Old Testament to distort their answer to the question, 'What think ye of Christ?'

[1] Robertson Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 306.

One of the first lessons that a student has to learn is that of immense reverence for facts. He must beware of confusing things as they are with things as they ought to be, or as he thinks they ought to be. Then and only then can he safely see visions and dream dreams of the ideal world foreshadowed in the prayer, 'Thy kingdom come.'

If we would see Virgil and Isaiah steadily and see them whole, we must try to treat them both alike. We must try to treat the Bible 'like any other book,' not because we want to make it like any other book, but because it is the only honest way to treat it. We must place the words of all prophets in their historical setting, for thus alone can we get at what they meant when they were written. 'Except by the gates of fact and history no religious, mystical, Christian development can be reached; the primitive sense does develop into larger truth, but it cannot be altered into something different from itself without dishonesty, or ignorance which is a form of dishonesty.'[1]

'Obviously, to *interpret* the prophets we must read them literally, endeavouring to throw ourselves back into their circumstances and the conditions of the world around them, and into their mind in such conditions: if we fail to do this and fasten our attention only on their ideas and truths as valid for other times than theirs, we do not interpret but only *apply* their prophecies.'[2]

[1] Nairne, *Isaiah*, p. 2.

[2] A. B. Davidson, *Prophecy and Prophets*, D.B., vol. iv., p. 125.

§ 5. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ISAIAH

'I HAVE heard my great-grandfather say that it is mostly in periods of turmoil and strife and confusion that people care much about history; and you know, said my friend with a smile, we are not like that now.' So wrote William Morris in the year 1890.[1] He would have ended the sentence differently had he been writing in 1917. 'History,' said Bishop Lightfoot, 'is an excellent cordial for drooping spirits.' And the reason is not far to seek. It is that history repeats itself, but never repeats itself exactly. The history of other times is full of warning, comfort, and guidance for our own times, especially when interpreted by those who help us to see it, as God sees it, 'sub specie aeternitatis.'

Every prophet is a child of that age to which he delivers his message. If he were not he would gain no hearing and miss his object, which is not to win posthumous fame, but to move his fellow-countrymen. But he is also in advance of his age, or he would be no prophet. He has a message for all time. When the same conditions recur, the same fears and hopes recur, the same moral dangers and difficulties, for human nature is much the same in all ages; and therefore the same warnings and exhortations are needed by a nation.[2]

[1] *News from Nowhere*, p. 32.

[2] *Cf.* the words of Dr. Arnold in 1819: 'I think daily of Thucydides, and the Corcyrean sedition, and of the story of

Under Jeroboam II. and Uzziah, the first half of the eighth century B.C. was a time of extraordinary prosperity for both Israel and Judah; and, as so often, prosperity led to ruin. 'The prosperity (or careless security) of fools shall destroy them' (Prov. i. 32). Or, as La Rochefoucauld expresses the same truth, 'Il faut de plus grande vertu pour souffrir la belle fortune que la mauvaise.' Amos had denounced the sins of the Northern Kingdom, and Isaiah's first duty was to do the same for the Southern.

He was called 'in the year that King Uzziah died' (vi. 1). His sixth chapter should be read first, and then chapters i. to v. It was a time of wealth and luxury, oppression and injustice, drunkenness and religious apostasy. The land was full of silver and gold, horses[1] and idols (ii. 7 and 8). The women walked 'with stretched forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet' (iii. 16). The rich landowners joined house to house and field to field (v. 8), and the drunkards drank from morning till night (v. 11 and 22). Therefore the Lord 'will lift up an ensign to the nations from afar, and will hiss for them from the end of the earth' (v. 26, *cf.* vii. 18). The coming conflict between Assyria and Egypt for 'a

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the French Revolution, and of the Cassandra-like fate of history, whose lessons are read in vain even to the very next generation.'

[1] A symbol of wealth and militarism.

place in the sun' will be used as an instrument of judgment.

After Uzziah came Jotham, who 'became mighty, because he ordered his ways before the Lord his God;' but after him came Ahaz, who 'burnt his children in the fire,' and encouraged idolatry. This, and many other details, we learn from 2 Kings xv. and xvi., and 2 Chron. xxvii. and xxviii., which should be read together with Isa. vii.

Soon after the accession of Ahaz, about 735 B.C., Rezin, King of Syria, and Pekah, King of Israel (or Ephraim), 'went up to Jerusalem to war against it; but could not prevail against it' (Isa. vii. 1). Ahaz gave way to the panic which they created among the people, and decided to call in the help of Tiglath Pileser, King of Assyria, the Germany of that day. This policy Isaiah, who came forward as a political adviser, strenuously opposed. Probably he foresaw that Tiglath Pileser would in any case swallow up Syria and Ephraim, as Germany swallowed up Belgium; and moreover, an alliance with heathen militarism was a kind of disloyalty to Yahweh. Pekah and Rezin were negligible, but Assyria was a terrible foe. Judah's existence was at stake, and the governing classes were blind to the danger.

But Ahaz would not listen to Isaiah, and his decision affected the course of history for the rest of the century. In 734 Tiglath Pileser, responding to his appeal, deposed Pekah, and put Hoshea as his own vassal on the throne of Samaria. In 732 he captured Damascus. In 722 Samaria fell before

Sargon; and in 701 Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, had to face Sennacherib.

It was during the first three or four years of the reign of Ahaz that Isaiah uttered his first two great Messianic prophecies (vii. 14, and ix. 1 to 7). Immanuel, the child of 'a nameless maiden of lowly rank' (Delitzsch), is not to be a deliverer, but a fellow-sufferer with his people in a land wasted by war. Not till at least a year later, when the Assyrian had reached Samaria, and the danger was almost at the doors, was the Messiah seen as one of David's line, a victorious King, and Prince of Peace. It is in the darkest hours of distress and fear that Isaiah's faith shines brightest.

§ 6. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF VIRGIL

THE last century before the fourth *Eclogue* was written was a period of revolution. It was marked by the growth of large estates and slavery, by provincial misgovernment, and by almost perpetual war, including twelve civil wars. It is 'all summed up in that tremendous *Ergo* in the conclusion of the first *Georgic*, which attributes the miseries of mankind directly to the just wrath of heaven.'[1]

The year 133 saw the first civil bloodshed in Rome. Gracchus, after an attempt at agrarian reform, which suggests a comparison with Russia at the time of writing, was killed in a riot. In the

[1] Conway, *M.E.*, p. 35.

year 100, which was that of Julius Caesar's birth, occured the first battle in the Forum. Nine years later the terrible Social War began. In this war alone 300,000 men of Italy fell. The year 87 was marked by another battle in the Forum, for this was the year of Cinna's revolution and Marius's Reign of Terror. 'The gates were closed; for five days and five nights the slaughter continued without interruption; even afterwards the execution of individuals who had escaped or been overlooked was of daily occurrence, and for months the bloody persecution went on throughout Italy.'[1]

The battle of the Colline Gate, which was fought on the 1st of November, 82 B.C., has been called 'the bloodiest and most desperate wrestle in Roman history.' The Samnites were defeated, and all the prisoners butchered in cold blood within earshot of the assembled Senate. Ten years later an insurrection of slaves and gladiators under the gallant robber-chief, Spartacus, ended with the crucifixion of six thousand prisoners along the road from Rome to Capua. In the following year, 70 B.C., Virgil was born on the 15th of October.

Meanwhile pirates had been giving Rome much trouble. In 74 B.C. they had burnt a Roman fleet, and prevented the corn-ships, on which Rome's life depended, from crossing the seas. War was raging in the East; and now the danger of famine and riot appeared at home. It was not till seven years later that Pompeius finally cleared the seas, and the

[2] Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. iv., p. 66.

'submarine peril' of those days passed away. At the same time civil control of the army was entirely superseded by military, and there followed a period of disorder at Rome, during which Catiline and Clodius acquired their evil fame. Then came the great disaster of Carrhae in the year 53, when Parthian cavalry annihilated a Roman army of 6,000 men, and Crassus and his officers died by their own hand. But a Mesopotamian muddle, for this is what it literally was, is apt to leave home-dwelling politicians cold. 'The Romans began to have no longer a soldier or a denarius to be employed against the public foe—no longer a thought for the destinies of the nations. It is one of the most dreadful signs of the times, that the huge national disaster of Carrhae and Sinnaca gave the politicians of that time far less to think and speak of than that wretched tumult on the Appian road, in which, a couple of months after Crassus, Clodius the partisan-leader perished.'[1]

Meanwhile, Caesar's seven years' campaign in Gaul was brought to an end by the capture of Alesia, and the surrender of Vercingetorix, Rome's greatest foe since the days of Hannibal, but as gallant and great-hearted a foe as any country could desire. Caesar kept him alive for five years, and then led him through the streets of Rome and beheaded him at the foot of the Capitol! 'Vae victis' had not yet given place to Virgil's 'parcere subiectis.' In 49 B.C. Caesar crossed the Rubicon, and civil war began once more. The battles of Pharsalus, Thapsus and

[1] Mommsen, vol. v., p. 165.

Munda followed in quick succession; and in the year 44 Caesar was murdered. Two years later, his murderers were defeated at Philippi, where Virgil's friend Horace fought and left his shield.[1] Virgil alludes to Philippi, and possibly also to Pharsalus, in *Georg.* i. 490.

This is of course only a rapid survey, and a very incomplete and broken one, of the darker side of Roman history during the period in question. But perhaps it will suffice to dispel the curious theory of a French critic, M. Reinach, that the fourth *Eclogue* contains no historical allusions. 'Je me propose,' he writes, 'd'établir qu'il n'y a pas d'allusions historiques ou politiques dans la IV. Eglogue, qu'il n'y est question ni du fils du Pollion, ni du fils d'aucun autre personnage du temps, enfin que la caractère du poème tout entier est exclusivement religieux ou mystique.'[2] But, as Mr. Warde Fowler points out in his refutation of M. Reinach's theory, the birth of the child is clearly meant to be at a definite time in history—namely, the year 40 B.C.

The fact is that, like Isaiah, Virgil was too great a prophet to be independent of his own times. If prophecy is to influence the future, it must be rooted in the present and the past. Moreover, Virgil loved Italy with the love of a great poet for his own land (*e.g.*, *cf. Georg.* ii. 136-176 and Ps. cxxxvii. 5-6). Mr. Gosse, in his *Life of Swinburne*, seems surprised that Swinburne should have felt so deeply for Italy,

[1] *Odes* ii. 7, 10.

[2] *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. xlii., p. 365.

when Italy was, in a sense, no business of his.[1] But a poet's sympathy and imagination make him a citizen of the world; and if he can feel the life of another nation so deeply, he will feel that of his own nation more deeply still. Nor was the political function of prophecy confined to the Hebrew seers.

Virgil took no active part in politics or in war, but that his soul was deeply stirred by both we have evidence in the conclusions of the first two *Georgics*, which are not only marvellously prophetic, but also richly reminiscent and allusive. They were written later than the *Eclogues*, between the years 37 and 29, but most of the material underlying them was already in existence in 40 B.C. Julius Caesar was deified in 43. Virgil treats Augustus as a god in his prelude to the first *Georgic*; and if it was natural for the throne of David to have a place in the hopes of the Hebrew prophets, it would be still more natural for Virgil to look for his Messiah in the divine family of the Caesars.

We know that his hopes were not fulfilled in the letter. The expected boy turned out to be a girl, who afterwards developed into a very bad woman. But Virgil let his poem stand.[2] To cancel it 'would

[1] In Italy's hour of agony (1917) perhaps Swinburne's lines are worth recalling:

> 'The very thought in us how much we love thee
> Makes the throat sob with love and blinds the eyes.'

[2] There is a precise parallel in Martial (6. 3). He wrote a poem to celebrate the birth of an heir to Domitian, and

have been to draw attention to Scribonia's misfortune and the Emperor's greatest perplexity, his want of an heir.'[1]

But there was another reason, and a deeper one, for letting it stand. It was based not upon a man, still less upon a woman, but upon a century of history. For Virgil, as for Isaiah, the King was accidental, the kingdom essential.

§ 7. KINGS AND KINGDOMS

JULIUS CAESAR has been called Rome's one great original genius. He was a man of blood, but he was not a mere militarist, and he knew how to gather

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published it, though the child was never born (*M.E.*, pp. 30 and 84). See note on *Eclogue* iv. 49.

Macaulay provides us with an amusing prediction from English history in 1687. James, the Old Pretender, was born in the year following this scene:

'The folly of some Roman Catholics confirmed the vulgar prejudice. They spoke of the auspicious event as strange, miraculous, as an exertion of the same Divine power which had made Sarah proud and happy in Isaac, and had given Samuel to the prayers of Hannah. . . . The imprudent zealots who dwelt on these tales foretold with confidence that the unborn infant would be a boy, and offered to back their opinion by laying twenty guineas to one. Heaven, they affirmed, would not have interfered but for a great end. One fanatic announced that the Queen would give birth to twins, of whom the elder would be King of England and the younger Pope of Rome. Mary could not conceal the delight with which she heard this prophecy; and her ladies found that they could not gratify her more than by talking of it (*Macaulay's History*, vol. iii., p. 46).

[1] Conway, *M.E.*, p. 30.

materials for a temple of peace, which his great-nephew and heir, Augustus, was destined to build. By establishing a monarchy he saved Rome from anarchy. His task was the same in many respects as that which lies before M. Kerensky in Russia to-day (1917). 'A man shall be as an hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest.'[1] Every great national emergency needs a man, and a leader of men. He comes as a Deliverer or a Messiah, 'as a shadow of a great rock in a weary land.'[1] It has happened so again and again. 'The history of what man has accomplished in the world is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked there.' There is no power like personal influence: and when this is centred in a wise ruler, he is God's appointed refuge from the madness of the people. He may be this without being morally perfect. In this strangely mixed world of ours, wisdom often counts for more than goodness. Queen Elizabeth was no saint, but the benefits that she conferred on her country are unquestioned.[2] And it may be that the private life of many a great sovereign or statesman will not bear examination, yet it may fall to him to save the State from the hands of pious and well-meaning blunderers. Sometimes fools are more dangerous than knaves. We are only too familiar with the harm that is done by 'good' people, but

[1] Isa. xxxii. 2.

[2] Freeman speaks of 'the truth of the dictum that in Elizabeth there were two wholly distinct characters, in one of which she was greater than man, and in the other less than woman' (*Quarterly Review*, June, 1854).

we must not forget the good that is done by bad people.

It is quite possible that religion and morality are distinct in origin; and if this is so, it explains a great deal. Righteousness was not originally a necessary attribute of gods. They shared the unruly wills and affections of sinful men. When Isaiah insists on the 'holiness' of Yahweh, he is raising to a higher level a term in common use among Semitic faiths. Its root meaning is separation, and not moral purity. It was not the character of the god that mattered, but his ability to grant the desires of his devotee. And he could be coerced into granting them by the proper form of words or ritual. The 'magical fallacy' is very old, and by no means extinct even among Christians.

> 'Carmina vel caelo possunt deducere Lunam.'
>
> (*Eclogue* viii. 70.)[1]

As men are, so they imagine God to be; and, conversely, man's idea of God reacts upon his own character. It is part of the prophet's function to protest against popular sacerdotalism, and to elevate the popular conception of God's character. The holiness of God is central in Isaiah's teaching; and it is an ethical holiness. Hence Dr. Oesterley[2] sees

[1] 'Incantations can draw down the very moon from heaven.' A journalist writes from Petrograd in August, 1917: 'The Russian believes in a good god of his own, who, if one crosses oneself often enough, will dutifully attend to all one's little wants.' *Cf.* Plato, Rep. ii., 364, and Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 227 and 242, note 2.

[2] *Evolution of the Messianic Idea.*

a descending scale in Isaiah's teaching. At first he returns to the primitive belief that 'the gods are come down to us in the likeness of men' (Acts xiv. 11). Yahweh Himself dwells among His people (ii. 2-4). Then His presence is brought by the 'Shekinah' (iv. 2-6). Then His place is taken by the God-Man (ix. 6). And finally, we are left with a purely human ruler (xi. 1-5). Yahweh is too holy to dwell among men, and so He must have a human representative, an inspired man.

But Virgil had no such difficulty to meet. Gods, heroes, demigods, and deified men, all lay ready to the hand of the Pagan poet. His Messiah could be born of two human parents, and at the same time be the son of Jupiter. Nor need he be sinless. It was only necessary that he should be a firm ruler, a wise leader, and one who could establish a reign of justice and peace. If Julius Caesar could earn posthumous divinity, far more might this be expected of the idealized Augustus and his unborn son.

But all human rulers are imperfect; and when human rulers disappoint them, men's thoughts turn to a kingdom of God.[1] It is not that no Messiah is needed. 'Thine eyes shall see the king in his beauty' (Isa. xxxiii. 17). But Hezekiah was not

[1] 'Times of political decadence are times of spiritual growth. For the very fact that men see the institutions and traditions of their childhood, and the prospects of their friends and families, and the future of their country, inevitably doomed, forces them to take shelter in the spiritual region, from the storm that is sweeping outward things away' (Illingworth, *Sermons Preached in a College Chapel*, p. 18).

good enough to be the ideal King, 'for his heart was lifted up' (2 Chron. xxxii. 25). It may have been with a heavy heart that Isaiah turned away for the last time from his human hero, and took refuge only in the thought that 'the LORD is our judge, the LORD is our lawgiver, the LORD is our king' (xxxiii. 22). With a true inspiration Virgil ends his *Eclogue* with an appeal to his 'puer.'[1] The ideal kingdom needs a King. But it needs an ideal King; and Isaiah, in another way, helps us to feel that the ideal King must be the ideal man, the Perfect Man. It is, after all, to him and not to Virgil that we go, if we want to realize for ourselves the need and the nearness of CHRIST.

CHRIST alone can supply what is lacking in Hezekiah, Augustus, and all human Messiahs. Even Henry VIII., when he walked with his arm round the neck of Sir Thomas More, seemed capable of creating a Utopia. Erasmus himself declared that he should be 'the true father of his people.' And we must not forget the part that he played in the English Reformation, which was indeed the promise of a Golden Age for the Church. But when More's *Utopia* appeared, Henry had been left out of it; and with good reason.

If he had been as excellent morally as he was well endowed physically and intellectually, he might have answered More's expectations. The weakness of democracy is its liability to 'crowd-morality.' The greater the numerical strength of a governing body,

[1] *Cf. Georg.* i. 500, 'hunc iuvenem.'

the worse the danger of this. 'Organizations never repent,' says Mr. H. G. Wells. 'God takes no cognisance of committees.' They can only issue official explanations of facts that they have indicated or intimated in previous communications. Their very language is designed to conceal the truth. When personal responsibility is widely diffused, it is apt to be widely disclaimed. And a large body is often unwieldy and ineffective. Even a Cabinet of twenty-two has been tried and found wanting in the present war, as wise men foresaw it would be.[1]

But the dangers of hereditary monarchy are obvious; and any other kind may become the prey of the party which happens to be strongest at the moment. 'O put not your trust in princes, nor in any child of man.'

§ 8. THE NEED OF REGENERATION DESPAIR AND HOPE

In Virgil's time the ancient civilization of the Mediterranean States was decaying rapidly. The Roman Empire seemed to be tottering to its fall. Pagan religion was breaking up, and what was to take its place? The whole creation was groaning and travailing with the sinfulness of man and his need of redemption.[2] Virgil felt this; S. Paul knew

[1] The history of the Roman Senate suggests that this paragraph needs qualifying, as Mr. Warde Fowler reminds me.

[2] 'Il regnait alors partout une sorte de fermentation, d'attente inquiète et d'espérance sans limite' (Gaston Boissier).

it, and said so in his Epistle to the Romans (*cf.* especially Rom. viii. 19 and 22). A solemn truth underlay the hackneyed words of Horace—'laudator temporis acti.' But Horace has no serious remedy to offer. He is the champion of popular Paganism, a 'parcus deorum cultor et infrequens,' consoling himself with fairyland and good wine. The fourth *Eclogue* is an answer to *Odes* I. ii. and *Epode* xvi. Virgil stands far above this 'idle singer of an empty day.' God alone can save. 'The plain fact is that,' as Mr. T. R. Glover says, 'in the long run, despair is at the heart of every religion without Christ.'[1] In Confucianism, for instance, there is no golden age, either past or future. And classical literature is full of the thought that man's highest development lies not before, but behind him, buried in the remote past. It crept into the Christian Church, and still infects it at the present day, though belief in a perfect Adam, created *per saltum*, like Athene from the brain of Zeus, has passed away. But those who are familiar with the biographies of modern agnostics will understand Mr. Glover's words.

Hope and despair, 'sperare' and 'desperare,' often spring from the same roots. The difference lies not in the circumstances but in ourselves. Again and again, great suffering has proved to be the birthpangs of a new hope. It is during Rome's great struggle with Hannibal that we find 'Spes' enthroned in a temple and worshipped. 'Germany, when she lay trampled beneath the hoofs of Buonaparte's troopers,

[1] *The Christian Tradition and its Verification*, p. 63.

produced perhaps the most optimistic and idealistic literature that the world has seen; and not till the French milliards were distributed in 1871 did pessimism overrun the country in the shape in which we see it there to-day.'[1] To a religious soul the very imminence of disaster is a call to 'look up and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh' (Luke xxi. 28). 'We know that it is our own fault if our greatest trials do not turn out to be our greatest advantages' (Dr. Arnold). Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the abundant literature produced by the greatest war in history is its hopefulness. Here are two examples culled almost at random from two recent books:

> 'The outlook for a new international organization, based upon a new will for creative peace, has never been so bright. . . .'
>
> 'Black as the times are and racked as our feelings are, I cannot doubt that it is easier than it was before the war to feel the dawning of a new hope and the dwindling of obstacles which we had hardly expected to see dwindling in our time.'

It was war that called forth the *De Civitate Dei.* When Rome herself had fallen before Alaric the Goth, 450 years after Virgil wrote his *Eclogue*, to Augustine came the vision of a City of God. 'The City of God abideth for ever, though the greatest city in the world has fallen in ruin.' After tragedy comes Pentecost. The Roman Empire prepared the way for the spread of Christianity, and then its place was taken by the Roman Church. Leo the Great, who lived to see Rome sacked by Gaiseric the

[1] William James, *The Will to Believe*, p. 47.

Vandal, and died thirty years after Augustine, wrote these memorable words:

'Ut enarrabilis gratiae per totum mundum diffunderetur effectus, Romanum regnum divina providentia praeparavit.'[1] ('To the end that the fruit of God's unspeakable grace might be diffused throughout the world, the Divine Providence created beforehand the dominion of Rome.')

§ 9. A TWOFOLD REDEMPTION NATURE AND MAN

A REVOLUTION in Nature is part of the Golden Age.[2] The parallel here between Virgil and Isaiah is too close to be accidental, as Professor Mayor shows.[3] Nature shall cease to be 'red in tooth and claw with ravin.' In the fourth *Eclogue* the process ends with the crowning miracle of self-dyeing sheep. In Isaiah 'the lion shall eat straw like the ox'—an unnatural touch which is afterwards omitted.[4] But the world of the prophet's dream is not the real world, and never will be. It is that ideal world in which 'the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God' (Rom. viii. 21). Nature is thought of as sharing man's redemption. 'They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as

[1] Conway, *M.E.*, p. 38. *Cf.* Appendix A, note 2.

[2] See Appendix A, note 3. [3] *M.E.*, pp. 126-132.

[4] But *cf.* lxv. 25. In xxxv. 9: 'No lion shall be there' (*cf.* *Eclogue* iv. 22). The writer of Gen. i. 30 evidently regards all animals as originally herbivorous.

the waters cover the sea' (Isa. xi. 6-9; *cf.* lxv. 25). Still more beautiful is the picture in Isa. xxxv., a chapter that surpasses anything in Virgil. Here the vision is more satisfying, and contains no startling reversal of nature's laws, which are the laws of her Maker and Ruler.

We know now that He does not temper the wind to the shorn lamb, and that 'He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust' (Matt. v. 45). But law is a cold thing. Poets and prophets have always risen above it, and in so rising have fallen into the 'pathetic fallacy.' The world is all the richer for their mistake. The *moral indifference* of nature, seen as a remorseless mechanism, has alienated many a thoughtful mind from God. 'Verily Thou art a God that hidest Thyself' (Isa. xlv. 15).[1] Nature is not only a mechanism, she is also a picture and a poem; but neither Power nor Beauty can satisfy the seeker after God.

Power and Beauty are evidence of Mind, but not of Love. 'There is nothing prophetic in the spectacle of nature, as thus seen. It is curious how men who, simply from this standing point, admire nature, have before them perpetually what they themselves call a vision of celestial beauty, and yet this celestial vision never points to any real heaven. The scene of nature soothes and entrances, and then melts away. The future is a blank, or a dark enigma

[1] *Cf.* Job xxvi. 14: 'Lo, these are but the outskirts of His ways: and how small a whisper do we hear of him.'

to them. So little does the glory of mere outward nature prophesy.'[1]

Perhaps it is worthy of notice that neither in Virgil, nor in Isaiah, do the heavenly bodies have any share in the Messianic kingdom.[2] 'What is man, that Thou art mindful of him?' is the first thought suggested by these

> 'Innumerable, pitiless, passionless eyes,
> Cold fires, yet with power to burn and brand
> His nothingness into man.'

Not a celestial luminary, but the spirit of man, is 'the lamp of the Lord' (Prov. xx. 27); and the spirit of man is intimately linked with all things that live and move and have their being. Neither of our seers guessed the lowly lineage of man 'according to the flesh,' but both felt his kinship with the beasts that perish, his fellow-labourers and fellow-sufferers, who share with him the awful privilege of pain and sorrow. For both, the peace of the coming kingdom includes peace between the carnivorous and herbivorous animals, and 'a little child shall lead them.' The ox shall be released from his toil, for the earth shall need him no more.[3]

This one touch, the releasing of the ox from the plough, anticipates the 'tender affection for the whole creation of God' which breathes throughout the *Georgics*. The first beef-eaters were bad men.

[1] J. B. Mozley, *University Sermons*, p. 160.
[2] But *cf.* Isa. lx. 19 and 20. [3] *Eclogue* iv. 39-41.

There were none in the Golden Age of Saturn (*Georg.* ii. 537).[1]

Virgil's sympathy with animals is implied rather than expressed in the fourth *Eclogue*. It comes out later in the dying ox of the third *Georgic*, and the bereaved nightingale of the fourth; in the minute yet delicate lingering over the cattle-plague, in the love of bees and their wonderful ways, in the song of birds, the scent and colour of flowers, and the fascination of night-haunting, man-eluding creatures, without whose presence the world would be a dull and Godless place. Underlying this is a sense of the unity of all life, and the immanence of God, the faith that Longfellow expressed in the lines:

> 'It was his faith—perhaps is mine—
> That Life, in all its forms, is one;
> And that its secret conduits run
> Unseen, but in unbroken line,
> From the great Fountain-head Divine,
> Through man and beast, through grain and grass.'

> 'Deum namque ire per omnes
> Terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum.'
> (*Georg.* iv. 221.)

Not only bees, but all nature is 'inspired,' and pregnant with the living God. 'Iovis omnia plena' (*Eclogue* iii. 61)—a favourite quotation with S. Augustine. The line quoted above from the fourth *Georgic* is repeated from the passage in the *Eclogue* (50-52), where all nature greets the birth of the Messiah and the coming of His kingdom. Professor

[1] *Cf.* Ovid, *Met.* xv. 72 *et sqq.*

Mayor aptly compares Isa. xliv. 23, and the similar language in xlix. 13, lii. 9, and lv. 12, as helping to confirm his conclusion that Virgil is somehow indebted to Isaiah. 'Sing, O heavens, and be joyful, O earth.' Dr. John Caird, in one of the finest volumes of sermons that the nineteenth century produced, has the following comment on this passage: 'When the rapt vision of the ancient prophet thus beheld all mute and material things instinct with a spiritual significance, replete with living sympathy for the joys and sorrows, the moral career and destinies of humanity, is there not here the recognition in nature of something more than dead material power and blind material forces and laws? . . . And in the whole tenor of our Lord's parabolic teaching is there not a tacit recognition of the principle of the moral and spiritual significance of nature?'[1]

The redemption of Man is therefore inseparable from the redemption of all Creation, for there is One God above all and through all and in all, and not one sparrow falls to the ground without Him. 'The earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the revealing of the sons of God' (Rom. viii. 19). In the Golden Age man and beast will enjoy a Sabbath rest together. In the case of the ox this does not surprise us, but it seems unnatural to deliver man from the miseries of manual labour. It is a legacy from the past which Virgil nobly outgrew in the *Georgics*. We find it in Gen. iii. 17, where

[1] *University Sermons*, p. 307.

agriculture is evidently regarded as a thankless drudgery. The Greeks regarded manual labour as a thing to be avoided by free men as far as possible;[1] it was to give place to intellectual labour, which is certainly a higher occupation, and wisdom only 'cometh by opportunity of leisure.'[2] But the keynote of the *Georgics* is not only 'divini gloria ruris,' but the dignity of labour, through which alone the earth can be redeemed. Hesiod believed in it, but he is half apologetic. Work, he says, is no disgrace: *Ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίη δέ τ' ὄνειδος.*

In the *Eclogue*, as in Isaiah, the thought of spontaneous fertility is uppermost—a land 'flowing with milk and honey' (*Eclogue* iv. 30). Yet perhaps even here, so Sir William Ramsay thinks, we may find the germ of a revival of agriculture and science under Augustus, and a self-supporting Italy. 'Latifundia,' or large estates, were the curse of Italy, as they were of Israel and Judah, for they meant low cultivation and oppression of the poor. And so Julius Caesar, like Hezekiah, was a patron of agriculture, and put agrarian reform in the forefront of his programme.[3]

[1] Lecky observes that slavery produced a contempt for manual labour, which was corrected by Christianity, especially by the monks (*History of Rationalism*, ch. vi.).

[2] Ecclus. xxxviii. 24. See rest of chapter, especially ver. 25 and the last verse: 'But they [the manual labourers] will maintain the fabric of the world; and in the handiwork of their craft is their prayer.'

[3] *Cf.* More's *Utopia* (Paget's translation, 1909): 'Farming is a science in which all participate. Both men and women are expert at it, all being instructed in it from their youth.'

In the first *Georgic* Virgil comes back to everyday life. The Golden Age is replaced in the past, and due homage is paid to Toil in a passage that ends with that excellent family motto:

> 'Labor omnia vicit
> Improbus, et duris urgens in rebus egestas' (118-146).

'With God our comfort is subordinate to our education. . . . As Virgil tells us, the Father of all did not wish the way to be too easy, "curis acuens mortalia corda." And, in point of fact, the greatest advances in civilization have been made in the sterner climates, where the conflict with nature has early elicited the employment of man's full powers.'[1]

The Golden Age is but a dream after all. If it is ever to come, man must work for its coming; he must replenish the earth and *subdue* it. So the singing wilderness of Isaiah becomes the old Corycian's garden in the *Georgics* (iv. 117-128), a charming picture of how the art of man can make the desert blossom as the rose. As Archbishop Whately observed, there is no petition in the Lord's Prayer which is not to be accompanied by human effort. 'Thy kingdom come' is in the *Eclogue* a prophecy, in the *Georgics* a prayer to be wrought out with honest sweat ('Ora et labora'). In the words of Gaston Boissier, 'Travailler et prier, voilà la conclusion des *Georgiques*.'

[1] Salmon, *Infallibility of the Church*, vi., p. 104. See translation, p. 91

§ 10. RIGHTEOUSNESS AND PEACE. CULTURE AND AGRICULTURE. THE LAND AND THE MIND

ISAIAH, Virgil, and all prophets worthy of the name, agree in making righteousness and peace essential to the Golden Age. The 'Virgo' who is put in the forefront of the *Eclogue* is the 'Justitia' of *Georgic* ii. 474. As Justice was the last deity to leave the earth when the mythical Golden Age of Saturn passed away, so she will be the first to return in the Messianic kingdom of the future:

> 'Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;
> Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.'
> (*Eclogue* iv. 6 and 7.)

There will be a kind of perpetual Saturnalia, a festival which combined some of the features of our Harvest Home and Christmas Day. But whereas in the popular imagination peace is usually linked with plenty, the prophet sees that its twin-sister must be righteousness. A peace worth having must be a 'righteous and lasting peace.' Indeed, if it is not righteous, it will not last. Virgil feels the futility of the great illusion—mere military success. His Messiah will rule a world in which 'mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other':

> 'Pacatumque reget patriis *virtutibus* orbem.'
> (*Eclogue* iv. 17.)

And here he joins hands with the Hebrew thinkers. The 'Day of the Lord' shall not be a day of triumph

over Israel's enemies, nor a day of eating and drinking, but a Day of Judgment. The wicked must be punished and the nation purified. This is the leading thought in the Book of Amos. 'Shall not the day of the Lord be darkness and not light? even very dark and no brightness in it? . . . But let judgment roll down as waters, and righteousness as an ever-flowing stream' (Amos v. 20 and 24). The Messianic hope is relegated to an epilogue of five verses. 'All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword.' Then, and not till then, the house of David will be restored, and 'the plowman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed; and the mountains shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt' (ix. 10-15).

In Isaiah the thought of judgment meets us continually. There can be no peace and prosperity without it (*e.g.*, ii. 4 and 12). Deutero-Isaiah, the 'Book of Consolations,' is no less clear. 'And I will appoint as thy government Peace, and as thy despot[1] Righteousness.' . . . 'Thy people also shall be all righteous' (lx. 17 and 21). In xi. 4 and 5 the just government of the Messiah is strongly brought out. In xxxii. 1 the same note is struck, but in the following seven verses it is clear that his character must pervade the whole of his kingdom. 'A man' is a generic term; it means 'each man' or 'every man.'[2] According to Jeremiah, 'They shall all know Me, from the least of them unto the greatest

[1] LXX. ἐπισκόπους ('bishops').

[2] Or 'each one' (of the princes).

of them, saith Yahweh' (Jer. xxxi. 34). Individual men come and go, and the best of them are but human; but the race endures, and has a personality of its own. Religion in the Hebrew prophets is mainly an affair between God and the nation; the nation as a whole must be the people of God.

The noble indignation and intense moral earnestness, so prominent in these prophets, is less obvious in Virgil, but it is there if we look for it. The fourth *Eclogue* is too short to be more than allusive. But justice, sin, and 'virtue' are all there (see lines 6, 13, 17, 27, and 31). The *Georgics*, as we have seen, are a sermon on rural life and labour, with their moral implications. The *Aeneid* has a strong moral interest running through it. At its worst it is a chronicle of bloodshed, and a paler imitation of the *Iliad;* but at its best it reaches a level which Homer could not touch.

The superiority of the *Iliad* may be due to the fact that Virgil really hated war, and could not write of it with that eager enthusiasm that swings us through Homer. War is to him an 'impious' and 'tearful' thing. The Golden Age of the past knew it not, and in that of the future it will be but a sad survival of 'original sin.'[1] The last 350 lines of the sixth *Aeneid*, which begin with 'the most majestic passage of all epic poetry,'[2] give us a valuable insight into Virgil's mind, including his sense of 'the measure

[1] *Eclogue* iv. 31-36; *cf. Georg.* ii. 539.
[2] Conway, *M.E.*, p. 37.

of human guilt.' Warriors of some kind are classed with adulterers:

> 'Quique ob adulterium caesi, quique arma secuti
> Impia.'
>
> (*Aen.* vi. 612.)

Sellar not quite honestly, as it seems to me, translates: 'They who followed to war an unholy standard.'[1] But doubtless 'impia' here means 'traitorous,' and contains a reference to the civil wars.[2] In lines 660 and following, those who have died for their country join the glorious company of priests and poets and benefactors of mankind:

> 'Hic manus ob patriam pugnando volnera passi,
> Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,
> Quique pii vates et Phoebo digna locuti,
> Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
> Quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo.'

'It is impossible to translate words like *excoluere*, which suggests turning a wilderness into a garden; *artes*, which includes philosophic, artistic, and poetic creation as well as mechanical inventions; and *merendo*, which includes every form of service rendered to one's fellows.'[3]

The Elysium of faithful warriors suggests a comparison with that beautiful passage in the Apocalypse of S. John, which describes the passing away of pain and sorrow. 'These are they which

[1] *Virgil*, p. 347.
[2] Its position in the line is emphatic. *Cf.* Aen. xii. 31.
[3] Conway, *M.E.*, p. 41.

came out of great tribulation . . . therefore are they before the throne of God' (Rev. vii. 13-17).

Yet Virgil can glorify war. It must have a place in the education of his Messiah.[1] In that splendid episode, the praise of Italy, the war-horse and the warrior appear in contrast with the unwarlike Indian.[2] Still stronger is the contrast drawn by Remulus in the ninth *Aeneid* between the warlike Italians and the effeminate Phrygians:

'Our babes are hardened in the frost and flood,
Strong is the stock and sturdy whence we came.
Our boys from morn till evening scour the wood,
Their joy is hunting, and the steed to tame,
To bend the bow, the flying shaft to aim.
Patient of toil, and used to scanty cheer,
Our youths with rakes the stubborn glebe reclaim,
Or storm the town. Through life we grasp the spear.
In war it strikes the foe, in peace it goads the steer.

'Age cannot stale, nor creeping years impair,
Stout hearts as ours, nor make our strength decay.
Our hoary heads the heavy helmet bear.
Our joy is in the foray, day by day
To reap fresh plunder and to live by prey.
Ye love to dance, and dally with the fair,
In saffron robes with purple flounces gay.
Your toil is ease and indolence your care,
And tunics hung with sleeves, and ribboned coifs ye wear.

'Go, Phrygian women, for ye are not men!'
(*Aen.* ix. 603-617, Fairfax-Taylor's version;
cf. xii. 99-100.)

In the famous address to Rome on her high calling (quoted above, p. 5), Anchises ends his speech with

[1] *Eclogue* iv. 26, 27. [2] *Georg.* ii. 145, 167-172.

the words 'debellare superbos.' Peace, mercy, and forgiveness are to be combined with the crushing of the proud. There is no doubt that Virgil looked forward to the end of war, but the time had not come for it.

> 'Discite *iustitiam* moniti et non temnere divos.'
> (*Aen.* vi. 620.)

In this great line is contained the truth that love without justice is weakness. The causes of war must be destroyed before it can pass away.

The last line of the *Aeneid* with its fine touch of 'indignation' suggests, as Professor Conway says, that 'the deeper enemy, the wilfulness of human passion, has yet to be destroyed.' Hence Virgil's 'lacrimae rerum,' another untranslatable phrase, and his 'longing for the further shore' (*Aen.* vi. 314).[1]

Isaiah likewise foretells the end of war in a well-known passage, found also in Mic. iv. 1-4. Virgil may have remembered it in *Georg.* ii. 508. But the whole verse must be considered: 'And he shall judge between the nations and arbitrate for many peoples,' etc. (ii. 4). In ix. 5 even the soldier's outfit shall be burnt before the advent of the Prince of Peace; but in xi. 4 the Messiah 'shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.' The Messiah foreshadowed here is the Warrior-Christ of the Apocalypse. 'And

[1] I cannot help recording the happy turn given to this line by Sir T. H. Warren in the Creweian Oration for 1917:

> 'Tendentesque manus ripae *Ulsterioris* amore.'

A *Pax Hibernica* is essential to the Golden Age now.

I saw the heaven opened and behold a white horse, and he that sat thereon, called Faithful and True; and in righteousness he doth judge and make war. . . . And he is arrayed in a garment sprinkled with blood; and his name is called the Word of God. . . . And out of his mouth proceedeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations; and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness of the wrath of Almighty God' (Rev. xix. 11-15).

No one respects a God who does not judge and punish as well as forgive; and his judgments are worked out *through* man as well as *on* man. Therefore, if man is to be Godlike, part of his duty will be, as Virgil says, 'debellare superbos.'

Virgil glorifies war because he knows the necessity for it in this sinful world; but he also glorifies it because he sees the nobler side of it, the splendour of muscle and manhood, the love and heroism that it calls forth. He can glorify it and yet hate it. Human nature is very complex, and not always self-consistent. Virgil also loves the beasts of the field, and yet writes of hunting as one who enjoys it.[1] Neither the pacifist nor the professional humanitarian can capture him. But to them he may be allowed to remain an enigma, in company with many other great-hearted and large-minded men, who have shown by their lives and characters the Christianity of the soldier-saint and the sportsman-naturalist. Discords and harmonies are all alike to

[1] *Cf.* my *Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil*, pp. 21 and 22.

those who have no ear for music. But a great poet can admire all forms of 'virtus' or ἀρετή, physical and moral. God, says the Preacher, has 'made everything beautiful in its time' (Eccl. iii. 11).

The *Georgics* end with what sounds like the apology of an 'ineligible' for a life of cultured leisure:

> 'All this of tillage and the care of beasts
> And trees I sang, when mighty Caesar's arms
> Were thundering o'er the deep Euphrates' tide;
> What time he gave the willing peoples law,
> Victorious, and essayed the path to heaven.
> In those stern days 'twas sweet Parthenope[1]
> Nurtured me Virgil, glorying in the toil
> Of peace inglorious, while with shepherds' lays
> My muse held dalliance, and youthful-bold
> I sang thee, Tityrus, in the beech-tree shade.'

We have the same touch in the 'Flumina amem silvasque *inglorius*' of the second *Georgic* (ii. 486). What Virgil really hates is not war, but the war-spirit, exemplified to-day in Nietzsche's terrible revision of Christ's Beatitudes, and its terrible result. He is in advance of those Jews, notably the Pharisees, who looked for a militarist Messiah. War is the first omen that greets the Trojans in Italy, but with it is joined the hope of peace: '"Spes et pacis" ait.'[2]

The *Aeneid* is peculiarly valuable as giving us some of Virgil's latest and maturest thoughts on the problems hinted at in the fourth *Eclogue*. But the *Georgics* are a better commentary on it, especially

[1] Naples.

[2] *Aen.* iii. 539-542.

because in them Virgil opens his heart, and is really at home. The *Aeneid* is in part, at least, an epic of war: the *Georgics* are an epic of Nature and the arts of peace. Here Virgil comes forward as a teacher, using the difficult medium of a didactic poem to translate into real life his dream of science, agriculture, and true religion. This means that the intellect must be given its due. The *Georgics* balance the *Eclogue* as a guarantee of his thorough sanity and practical commonsense.

There is nothing in Virgil quite like the 'sevenfold gifts of the Spirit' in Isa. xi. 2; a passage which, as Dr. Adam Smith tells us in his admirable exposition, 'in the theology, art, and worship of the Middle Ages dominated the expression of the work of the Holy Ghost.' The spirits of Isaiah are prevailingly intellectual; they are the forerunners of the Spirit who is leading us 'into all truth'; and so the mediæval Church, following S. Gregory of Tours, regarded the Holy Spirit as 'the God of the intellect more than of the heart.' Isaiah thus supplies a useful corrective to the modern degradation of the Spirit into a mechanical 'grace' limited to sacerdotal channels, or into a 'supernatural' influence *opposed* to 'natural' wisdom and science.

But Virgil never belittles intellectual labour—the besetting sin of the average Englishman. He was himself a man of wide learning, and fond of knowledge for its own sake. In the conclusion of the second *Georgic* he pays a tribute to the serious study of natural science, as a higher thing than country

life itself.[1] He has not studied Lucretius for nothing. But twice he descends from these mountain-heights to the scenes he loves best, the woods and stream-fed valleys that he has praised before:

> 'habitarunt di quoque silvas
> Dardaniusque Paris. Pallas quas condidit arces
> Ipsa colat; nobis placeant ante omnia silvae.'
> (*Eclogue* ii. 60; *cf. Georg.* ii. 485.)

And finally he turns gladly from the thought of politics and war and city life, to plunge into a charming description of the farmer at home on his farm all the year round, with his animals and children about him; a picture of rural family life which it would have done Plato good to read. Gray remembered it when he wrote his Elegy.

As in the *Eclogue* we descend from the 'aggredere o magnos' and the 'aspice venturo' to the 'incipe, parve puer'; so in this passage we leave the world of thought and action for the 'secura quies et nescia fallere vita' of the rustic family circle.

Here, too, the spirit of Isaiah has rested upon Virgil. 'And, perhaps, there is no finer contrast in the Scriptures than here, where beside so majestic a description of the intellectual faculties of humanity, Isaiah places so charming a picture of the docility and sportfulness of wild animals—*and a little child shall lead them.*'[2]

Man must be 'first human, then humane, then Godlike.' And this brings us to the thought of the

[1] *Georg.* ii. 475-492. See translation, p. 95.
[2] Adam Smith, *Isaiah*, vol. i., p. 189.

necessity of country life for true health of mind and body.

> 'illic saltus et lustra ferarum,
> et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus,
> sacra deum sanctique patres.'
>
> (*Georg.* ii. 471.)

A German manifesto issued by the Pan-German party at the beginning of 1917 urges the extension of Germany eastward in order to give the people 'new guarantees for their bodily, moral, and intellectual health, which only country life can give.' The religious value of it does not appeal to the German mind. But a Serbian exile turns his thoughts eastward for our instruction thus: 'Russia is a strongly religious country. But Russia is not an industrial country. The bulk of the Russian people, living by agriculture, are in continual touch with nature; and this touch with nature inspires and strengthens and vivifies the religious dispositions of man more than anything else. It is as difficult to find an atheist among pastoral and farming people as it is easy to find him among the coal-miners and iron-workers. Industry seems to be an inhospitable home for religion. Industry and big towns seclude a man from living and harmonious nature, from God's works, God's immediate witnesses, and keep him in a misty surrounding of men's works, the witnesses of men's cleverness. Rural life, with its wide and clear horizon, leads to humility before God. Industry, with its narrow horizon, leads to pride.'[1]

[1] The Rev. Nicholas Velimirovic, *Country Life*, December 9, 1916.

'Where there is no vision the people perish.' A people that dwells in narrow streets and under smoky skies, without a blade of grass to tread on or a green leaf to sit under, will never see visions and dream dreams.

The Greeks knew the value of city life. But the Greeks in their best days were a pastoral people. The age of Pericles and Pheidias was not the age of tall chimneys and machinery, of the black coat and the billycock hat; it was not the ancestor of men who defile God's earth with mendacious advertisements, and scratch their names on the tombs of Crusaders. They who do such things fear not God neither regard man. The ugliness and vulgarity of our modern civilization are things that delay the coming of the Kingdom of God amongst us.

But the growth of garden-cities in our time, and the great revival of agriculture due to the war, are signs that Virgil's 'robustus arator,'[1] his 'aratro dignus honos,' and his 'si te digna manet divini gloria ruris' are at last coming into their own.

§ 11. PROPHECIES FULFILLED AND UNFULFILLED

How far was Virgil's prophecy fulfilled or not fulfilled? Was he a true prophet of Christ? We are now in a position to answer these questions more definitely. We have seen that his prediction was

[1] For the *robust* ploughman *cf.* Isa. xxxv. 5-6, and lxv. 20.

falsified in the letter, but was allowed to stand unaltered. The same difficulty meets us in the Bible. Isaiah's seventh chapter was partly falsified by events. Judah lay in peace all the reign of Ahaz and for long afterwards. The great missionary prophecy in xix. 23 and 24 was not fulfilled, nor can it ever be in the letter, for those nations have ceased to exist. Jeremiah (xxv. 11 and xxix. 10) even goes so far as to promise restoration to Israel within seventy years; but the seventy years passed by and the captivity continued. Daniel (ix. 25) attempts to re-interpret Jeremiah, and so does the Book of Enoch, which probably belongs to about the same date (*circa* 160 B.C.); but with the same result. Neither the kingdom nor the Messiah appeared, and so the later prophets and apocalypticists had to reinterpret or re-edit the utterances of their predecessors; for the repeated disappointment of early Jewish hopes was a constant problem to the later Jewish Church. But the hopes were not extinguished. The personal Messiah receded or disappeared. Even in Isaiah the process has begun, as we have seen. In Amos, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Joel, there is no Messiah. In Jeremiah and Ezekiel he appears only to disappear. 'And the name of the city from that day shall be, Yahweh is there' (Ezek. xlviii. 35). Finally, the kingdom is transferred from this world to the next, and the hope of immortality takes the place of a Golden Age in this life. The apocryphal books, especially in the last century before Christ, show a great advance on the Old Testament. The

Book of Enoch, 1 Maccabees, the Psalms of Solomon, and the Book of Wisdom are especially worth studying.

Canon Charles in his little book, *Between the Testaments*, has thrown valuable light on this extremely interesting period. This is not the place for a fuller survey of it. But perhaps the opinions of some modern Jews are worth including here. Dr. Friedländer in his *Manual of the Jewish Religion* (1891) rejects Christianity and Liberal Judaism alike, and believes in the restoration of the earthly Jewish kingdom at Jerusalem, with the Temple and sacrifices. He also says: 'Those who believe in the superhuman nature of Messiah are guilty of idolatry.' On the other hand, the Rev. Morris Joseph (*Judaism as Creed and Life*, 1903) abandons a personal Messiah, and clings to a Golden or Messianic Age. 'If there is no Golden Age in store, then Judaism is vain.' Dr. Claude Montefiore (*Liberal Judaism*, 1914) agrees with him. In his view the Golden Age is essential, but a personal Messiah is not necessary.

The great war has revived many ancient dreams, even that of another Messiah. M. Léon Bloy, writing his *Méditations d'un Solitaire* in 1916, is as bold as any Hebrew prophet. 'Il est évident pour moi,' he says, 'que Dieu se prépare à *renouveler toutes choses* et que l'accomplissement est proche de cette prophétie apocalyptique. "Quand la France aura été purifiée par les fléaux de la justice divine," écrivait Mélanie en 1892, "lorsqu'elle sera presqu' anéantie, alors Dieu lui donnera *un Homme*." C'est

celui-là et non pas un autre que j'attends depuis quarante ans, dans ma solitude.'

But M. Léon Bloy is a lonely man, and lonely in his faith. For most of us the question 'Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another?' (Matt. xii. 3) has already been answered, as it had been for Tennyson when he wrote 'Ring in the Christ that is to be.' We do not look for a second Messiah, nor for a 'second' coming with clouds and trumpets, or any external and material paraphernalia, but for a new *παρουσία* or *presence* of Christ, a new *βασιλεία* or 'reign' of Christ, 'the same yesterday, today, and for ever.' The hope of Virgil and S. Paul remains, but it has taken on a new form.

What is true of the fourth *Eclogue* is true of all great prophecies. They are (1) moral, (2) conditional, (3) independent of time.

(1) The prophet is not a mere 'genius.' A genius may be fool enough to love art for art's sake alone. We may put Swinburne beside Tennyson or Browning[1] as a genius, but not as a prophet. Still less is the prophet a mere *fore*teller. Astrologers, palmists, and Old Moore, 'the monthly prognosticators' (see Isa. xlvii. 13), may compete with him there. If Virgil had accurately predicted the birth of Christ forty years later in Judæa, it may fairly be doubted whether he would have done any good by it. He would have been treated with contempt, or

[1] Perhaps it is permissible to think that the man who could write *Atalanta in Calydon* would have been a greater poet than either, if he had shared their Christian faith.

denounced as an anti-patriot and a pro-Jew. The more correct a prophet is in detail, the less universal will his message be. Mere prediction is a futile thing.

(2) S. Jerome remarks that many prophecies were given 'not that they should, but that they should not be, fulfilled.' And a Golden Age cannot dawn *for* a people except *through* it. Jeremiah supplies a good illustration of what this means. 'At one moment I speak concerning a nation and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up and break down, and to destroy it; but if that nation, concerning which I have spoken, turn from its evil, then I repent Me of the evil that I thought to do unto it. And at another moment I speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it; but if it do evil in My sight, that it hearken not to My voice, then I repent of the good, wherewith I said I would benefit it' (Jer. xviii. 7-10. Driver's translation).

It has been well said that 'every unfulfilled prophecy is an accusing conscience in the breast of the Christian Church.' If Virgil's dream of righteousness and peace has not been fulfilled, it is because 'Christianity has never been tried yet.'

(3) Great prophecies are independent of time, because, as we have seen, history repeats itself; and when the same conditions recur, the same warnings and exhortations are needed. The history of the human race is not one of smooth and steady upward development. God works by cataclysm as well as by evolution; and it is cataclysm that gives the prophet his opportunity.

Thus the noble words with which Dr. Martineau concludes his famous sermon on war, preached in 1855 and again in 1870, might have been written for today:

'The resurrection of a great nation, its sudden entrance among us with the seals of its sleep broken and its infirmities left behind, is naturally followed by a political Pentecost, which pours out a new spirit on us all. Its marvellous examples, of heroic resolve, of wisdom in council, of moderation in act, have been upon a scale which forbids despondency even under irreparable loss, and fills us again with living faith in the future of the world. What form that future may assume it is not ours to see. But we may be sure it will harmonize with the progressiveness of God's ways; and so fair is its first gleam that the young may well rejoice to enter, and the old regret to leave, the stage on which it will appear.'

§ 12. WAS VIRGIL A PROPHET OF CHRIST?

WHAT Wordsworth addressed to Milton in 1802 we may adapt to our purpose to-day. 'Virgil! thou shouldst be living at this hour: England hath need of thee.' Virgil as a prophet of Christ has a message for our own times, and is calling to us now through the noise of battle, as he called to the war-weary peoples of other days. He shows us that true patriotism means right ideals for our country, that militarism on the one hand, and luxury on the other,

spell doom to any empire, and that 'hope is an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast' (Heb. vi. 19). He remembers 'that the kingdom of God is within us, and that the Golden Age must have its foundation in penitence for past misdoing, and be built up in righteousness and lovingkindness.'[1]

We can indeed, if we choose, transfer our hopes entirely to another world, as Plato began to do in his Republic, and Virgil himself in his *Aeneid*. We have 'a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,' and we believe that 'neither death nor life . . . shall be able to separate us from the love of God'—a faith which was the foundation of the Old Testament hope of immortality. 'To everyone who holds that reality is spiritual there comes the comforting thought that nothing of absolutely vital importance is at stake in any earthly conflict.' . . . 'to a being sure of immortality death does not count.'[2] But the expectation of the end of the world, which colours the whole of the New Testament, and has led to the rediscovery of it in our times as an eschatological Book, is only real to us as expressing the need for a kingdom of Christ in this world, to prepare us for the next. We see that to save ourselves from the world is a lower thing than to save the world itself, and ourselves in it. The Virgilian ideal is higher than the monastic, and more truly Christian. 'I pray not that Thou

[1] Mayor, *M.E.*, p. 120.

[2] Inge, Essay on 'Hope, Temporal and Eternal,' in *The Faith and the War*, pp. 110-111.

shouldest take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldest keep them from the evil' (John xvii. 15).

Virgil stands above the monk in his cell as he stands above the pessimist in his study: he also stands, with Isaiah, above the blood and iron religion of ancient Israel, whose records have been used to justify anything from the murder of an Archbishop in cold blood to the imposition of German 'Kultur' upon an unwilling world. For this and much more we bow to-day at the shrine of one 'than whom,' as Horace says, 'earth bore no whiter soul.' His words did indeed receive a remarkable fulfilment in the century of peace that followed the accession of Augustus.[1] They were still more wonderfully fulfilled in the birth of a Divine Child, the Prince of Peace, at Bethlehem.

There is a Spanish legend, so Frederick Myers tells us in his beautiful essay on Virgil, that 'Virgil's eyes first saw the star of Bethlehem.' A legend and no more, 'but it is true that in none more fully than in him is found that temper which offers all worldly wealth, all human learning, at the feet of Purity, and for the knowledge of Truth.'[2] Again, 'the link between Virgil and Christianity depended not on a misapplied prediction but on a moral sequence, a spiritual conformity.'[3] So too, Plato's claim to be regarded as a prophet of Christ depends not on a supposed prediction of His cruci-

[1] See Appendix A, note 4.
[2] Myers, *Classical Essays*, p. 166.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

fixion,[1] but on moral and spiritual teaching which at its highest level is truly Christian, and therefore far in advance of the times in which it was spoken. And the evidence of Hebrew prophecy lies not so much in those verses, often of doubtful authenticity and interpretation, which speak of a Messiah, as in 'the broad general movement of religious thought which it presents, showing that a divine power had laid hold of the whole mind of man, creating in it lofty religious ideals, quickening its aspirations, giving it an onward and forward look towards a religious perfection, stirring up the heart of the creature to cry after Him who created it, and long for His perfect revelation upon the earth. John xiv. 8 *et sqq.*'[2] Isaiah is more obviously a prophet of Christ than Jeremiah, yet Jeremiah's theology marks an advance on Isaiah's; his 'heart-religion' takes us nearer to God, and therefore nearer to Him who revealed God most fully. 'The kingdom of God is within you.' The New Covenant is 'not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life' (2 Cor. iii. 6; *cf.* Jer. xxxi. 33).

There is in the human heart an inveterate craving for infallibility, a thing which Churches may profess, but never possess. In the logical, grammatical, and mathematical worlds we can separate, classify, and define. But in the real world of experience, of inspiration and revelation, of life and love, we are among soft outlines and blending colours, and we realize

[1] *Republic*, 361 E.

[2] Davidson, 'Prophecy,' *DB*, vol. iv., p. 126.

—with the late Dr. Verrall—that 'what is most worth saying cannot—such is language—be said, but must, if it is to come with true force, be hinted and suggested;' or, in Tennyson's well-known words, that 'nothing worthy proving can be proven.'

These are hard sayings to those who dislike what Bishop Francis Paget called 'the discipline of incompleteness,' but the love of truth for its own sake is a rare virtue. There seem to be minds that cannot distinguish the search for truth from a kind of disloyalty to Him who is the Truth, and whose Spirit is still and for ever moving in front of us, calling us on to conquer new fields of thought and knowledge.

To such minds the popular handbook of theology, with its confident appeal to General Councils and its precise definitions of the indefinable, will be more attractive than the vague and shadowy feeling after God of poets and prophets, with their avoidance of the plain yes and no, and their mysterious adumbration, with 'groanings that cannot be uttered,' of truths more wonderful than human language can express. But without mystery there is no religion. The ideal world is the true world. Virgil and Isaiah were both poets and idealists; and of such stuff is prophecy made. The Hebrew prophets habitually cast their thoughts into metrical form, because poetry is the best vehicle of religion. Plato calls the poet *ἔκφρων καὶ ἔνθεος*, 'out of his mind, and God-possessed.' *ἔνθεον ἡ ποίησις*, says Aristotle. Sometimes the spirit of man can scarcely

be distinguished from that Spirit which 'searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God.'[1]

'The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy' (Rev. xix. 10). To deny that spirit to Virgil is almost as foolish as to deny it to his great Hebrew master. He did not foresee the birth of Jesus of Nazareth; still less did he forecast the theology of the Incarnation; but he felt more than others in his day, and expressed as no other could, the desire of all nations, their great need and restless longing; he saw a great light from afar, and was glad in it already. 'Il a deviné à une heure decisive du monde ce qu'aimerait l'avenir.'

Messianic prophecies are, as Dr. Adam Smith says, tidal rivers. 'They not only run, as we have seen, to their sea, which is Christ; they feel His reflex influence.'[2] Their meaning was not exhausted in their own time, and so they were left waiting for the résurrection of something without which they could not be explained, that 'they, without us, should not be made perfect.' 'These are they which testify of Me.'

Or, if we may vary the metaphor, Virgil is one of those who found the ship of Hope drifting, and helped to bring it within sight of land. There he left it, to wait till 'the river of water of life' should flow down broad and strong, to blend its quickening flood with the incoming tide of Gentile wisdom and bear it safely into harbour.

[1] *Cf.* 'spirit' and 'Spirit' in Rom. viii., A.V. and R.V.

[2] *Isaiah*, vol. i., p. 143.

So the most radical criticism brings us back to the old view that Virgil, like Isaiah, was a real prophet of Christ; and we may boldly echo the old Christmas salutation—all the more fervently because it was used in Rheims[1] cathedral: 'O Maro, prophet of the Gentiles, bear thou thy witness unto CHRIST.'

[1] 'And why? Thy servants think upon her stones: and it pitieth them to see her in the dust' (Ps. cii. 14).

PREFACE TO TRANSLATIONS

THE first of the translations which follow is an almost line for line rendering in the metre of the original. This is my chief plea for an experiment which no one, so far as I know, has hitherto tried.

Of the Poet Laureate's experiments in *Ibant Obscuri* I would rather not speak. My own view is that English hexameters, if they are to be tolerable at all, should 'sing themselves'—*i.e.*, should be capable of being read aloud by people who know nothing of the metre. The best example I know is Dr. Hawtrey's famous version from the third *Iliad*.[1] Of single lines I know none more beautiful than the accidental hexameter in Isa. xiv: 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning.' Kingsley's *Andromeda* supplies a fine one:

> 'As when an osprey aloft, dark-eyebrowed, royally crested.'

This one I take from an article in *The Times*:

> 'Here moves Euphrates, and yonder Germany musters'
> (*Georg.* i. 509),

a line, which, in the excellent company of

> 'Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them,'

satisfies the ear and prosody alike.

The best lines approximately do this, I think; but in English, accent and rhythm take the place of

[1] *English Hexameter Translations*, p. 242.

quantity. I can see no more reason for applying the laws of Virgil's metre to English hexameters than for applying those of Greek iambics to English blank verse. It is well for Milton and Shakespeare that they did not do this.

The paraphrase in Biblical prose is a much bolder experiment. It arose out of a suggestion made to me by Mr. Warde Fowler, and seconded by my publisher. At first it struck me as quite impracticable; but I decided to try a few lines, and it grew on me rapidly. Probably some critics will think it dishonest, and others irreverent; but if I am astonished at my own boldness, I am still more astonished that I have been able to produce anything so Biblical out of Virgil. I offer it to my readers with great diffidence, but in the hope that it will help some of them to appreciate the wonderfully Messianic spirit of the fourth *Eclogue*.[1]

The other two translations are reprinted, with slight alterations, from my translation of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* in *Everyman's Library*, first published in 1907. They seemed to me worth including in a book on the fourth *Eclogue*.

The notes do not pretend to be complete or comprehensive; they are only intended to supplement other commentaries, and fill up some necessary omissions in the body of the book.

[1] Pope's *Messiah* is another experiment of a different kind.

[NOTE.—The references in the footnotes are to the lines of the Latin text.]

TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

ECLOGA IV

SICELIDES Musae, paulo maiora canamus!
non omnis arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae;

si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.

Vltima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas;

magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo. 5
iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,

iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.

tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum

desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo. 10

teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te consule, inibit,
Pollio, et incipient magni procedere menses;

te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,

---

2. Tamarisks are common on the banks of Italian rivers, and are usually low and 'shrubby.'

5. Hesiod mentions five ages: (1) Golden, (2) Silver, (3) Copper or Bronze, (4) the age of demi-gods or heroes, (5) Iron.

THE FOURTH *ECLOGUE* IN HEXAMETERS

MUSES of Sicily, list ye now to a loftier anthem,
Some love not tamarisks and the lowlier shrubs of the woodland;
If of the woods we sing, let woods be worthy a Consul.
Now hath the last age come, foretold by the Sibyl of Cumae;
Mightily now upriseth a new millennial epoch.
Justice the Maid comes back, and the ancient glory of Saturn;
New is the seed of man sent down from heavenly places.
Smile on the new-born Babe, for a new earth greets his appearing;
Smile, O pure Lucina; the iron age is departing,
Cometh the age of gold; now reigns thy patron Apollo.
Pollio, 'neath thy rule shall awake this glorious era,
Yea, thou'lt welcome the dawn of the new moons' mighty procession.
Should some lingering traces of old-world wickedness haunt us,

---

10. *Tuus*, 'thy brother,' because Lucina was identified with Diana, the Moon-goddess. Apollo, the Sun-god, was also the patron of Augustus.

13. 'The wickedness of our age' (Sidgwick) is a reference to the civil wars.

inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.

ille deum vitam accipiet divisque videbit 15

permixtos heroas et ipse videbitur illis,

pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.

At tibi prima, puer, nullo munuscula cultu

errantis hederas passim cum baccare tellus
mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho. 20

ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae

ubera, nec magnos metuent armenta leones;

ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores.

occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni

occidet; Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum. 25

---

18. *Cf. Georg.* i. 128; and Ovid's expansion of the same thought:

> 'Ipsa quoque immunis, rastroque intacta, nec ullis
> Saucia vomeribus, per se dabat omnia tellus.'

19. Ivy and 'baccar' are mentioned together in *Eclogue* vii. 25 and 27. 'Baccar' is probably the foxglove, but may be the asarabacca, a rare plant with ivy-like leaves. A specimen in my garden was obtained from an English monastery. Servius says 'baccar' was an antidote to witchcraft.

20. 'Colocasia' is either the Egyptian bean, then a recently

They shall perish, and fear from the earth be banished for ever.
Into the life of gods shall he come; gods mingled with heroes
Shall he behold, and the gods themselves shall gladly behold him,
Ruling a world at peace thro' the noble acts of his father.
Then shall the earth bring gifts from Nature's bountiful garden,
Foxglove spires entangled with errant tendril of ivy,
Blent with laughing acanthus and odorous arum lilies.
Home shall the goats their udders bring with milk heavy-laden,
Willingly, nor great lions affright men's cattle hereafter.
Even thy cradle, O Babe, shall pour forth flow'rs to caress thee,
Snakes shall perish, and plants whose fruit is treacherous poison;
All the whole earth shall be sweet with the breath of Assyrian spikenard.

---

imported luxury, which was to be common in the Golden Age, or a kind of arum lily. A flower seems to suit the context better than a food-plant.

24. The poison-plant is probably the aconite, mentioned in *Georg.* ii. 152.

25. 'Amomum' is a native of Armenia and Media, and is used to express the vast extent of the Assyrian empire (Martyn). It was in great demand as a perfume, and in the new age would grow everywhere. Constantine says that by a play on the word 'amomum' Virgil is alluding to the Christians as ἄμωμοι, 'blameless' (*cf.* Rev. xviii. 13 : κιννάμωμον καὶ ἄμωμον).

at simul heroum laudes et facta parentis

iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus,

molli paulatim flavescet campus arista,

incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva,

et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella. 30

pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis,

quae temptare Thetim ratibus, quae cingere muris
oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos.

alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quae vehat Argo

delectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella 35
atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles.

---

27. Servius explains 'virtus' of the study of poetry and philosophy, as in Plato, *Protagoras*, § 43 B.

30. *Cf. Georg.* i. 131 and iv. 1. But 'durae' suggests that here the trunk and not the leaves are thought of as exuding honey.

32. Tempting Providence in these ways is the ancient counterpart of polar exploration and the conquest of the air, which used to be dangerous ὕβρις in the sight of certain pious folk.

34. Tiphys was the pilot of Jason's ship, the *Argo*, the first long ship with sails to cross the ocean. Hitherto the Greeks had kept within sight of land (*cf.* Eur. *Medea*, 1-5).

35. The heroes were fifty-two in number. Pindar calls them 'the flower of sailors,' and Theocritus 'the flower of heroes.'

The Fourth Eclogue in Hexameters

Soon as thine eyes shall read of the praise and glory of heroes,
Knowing thy father's deeds, and the worth and honour of manhood,
Little by little the plain shall be gold with mellowing harvest;
Yea, from briar untilled shall dangle the reddening grape-bunch,
And the hard bole of the oak shall ooze with nectar of honey.
Yet some traces of ancient sin shall remain to afflict us,
Bidding us venture afloat in ships, and fortify cities
Gated and walled, and cleave earth's bosom again with furrows.
Tiphys shall rise again, and the ancient burden of Argo,
Chosen heroes sail, and earth with fury of battle
Ring, and again shall Troy be assailed by mighty Achilles.

On 'altera bella' Father Catrou observes: 'Nothing is more just than the prophecy of Virgil. A bloody war at last reduced Sextus Pompey to quit Sicily, and to meet his death in Asia by Anthony.'

36. 'I suppose also he was restrained by a sense of the danger which threatened one who should assail the credit of ancient religious practice. Cautiously, therefore, and securely, as far as possible, he presents the truth to those who have faculties to understand it; and while he denounces the munitions and conflicts of war (which, indeed, are still to be found in the course of human life), he describes our Saviour as proceeding to the war against Troy, understanding by Troy the world itself' (Constantine, *To the Assembly of the Saints*, ch. xx.).

hinc, ubi iam firmata virum te fecerit aetas,

cedet et ipse mari vector, nec nautica pinus

mutabit merces: omnis feret omnia tellus.

non rastros patietur humus, non vinea falcem; 40

robustus quoque iam tauris iuga solvet arator;

nec varios discet mentiri lana colores,

ipse sed in pratis aries iam suave rubenti

murice, iam croceo mutabit vellera luto;
sponte sua sandyx pascentis vestiet agnos. 45

'Talia saecla' suis dixerunt 'currite' fusis

concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae.

---

38. 'Vector' is used of the carried as well as the carrier. Here it may mean a merchant. Kennedy has 'tourist': 'From the sea the very tourist shall retire.' When criticized for this rendering he suggested 'supernumerary passenger!'

39. The opposite of what is said in *Georg.* ii. 109.

41. Lucretius twice has the phrase 'robustus moderator aratri.'

43. 'Nor are authors wanting who tell us of such fine sheep being to be seen in distant countries' (Martyn).

There is a curious apparent parallel in the Latin and Greek versions of Ps. lxv. 14: 'Induti sunt arietes ovium.' Ἐνεδύσαντο οἱ κριοὶ τῶν προβάτων.

44. 'Murex' is a sea-snail, from which a purple dye was

Then when hardening Time shall have wrought thee from youth into manhood,
Even sailors shall sail no more; ne'er again shall the ocean
Bring strange merchandise; all lands shall be fruitful in all things,
Fields shall be freed from the hoe, and vines from the knife of the pruner;
Strong shall the ploughman be that looses the yoke from his oxen;
Wool no more shall be taught to deceive with varying colours:
Rams by the dyer undyed shall change their fleece in the pasture,
Blushing softly to purple, or glowing in saffron yellow;
E'en in the meadow shall lambs be clothed in scarlet apparel.
'Run such a course as this,' bade the weaving Fates their spindles,
Fates that spin God's web of unchanging will and commandment.

---

obtained by the Tyrians. 'Lutum' is probably wild woad or dyer's weed.

45. 'Sandyx' is not a plant, but probably red arsenic.

47. The Parcae, or Fates, are Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos. *Cf.* Manilius, *Astron.* 4. 14: 'Fata regunt orbem, certa stant omnia lege' (The Fates rule the world, and all is established by fixed law).

'"Where?" And I heard one voice beyond the three,
"We know not, for we spin the lives of men,
And not of gods, and know not why we spin.
There is a fate beyond us."'
(Demeter and Persephone. See Tennyson's note.)

adgredere o magnos (aderit iam tempus) honores,

cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum !

aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum, 50

terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum :

aspice venturo laetentur ut omnia saeclo !

o mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima vitae,

spiritus et quantum sat erit tua dicere facta :

non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus, 55

nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,

Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.
Pan etiam, Arcadia mecum si iudice certet,

Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice victum.
incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem 60

---

49. This line 'cuts out at a stroke all candidates for the honour of being the child-herald of the new Golden Age, other than the son of Octavianus himself, should he ever be born' (R. W. Raper).

Martial (vi. 3) has the line : 'Vera deum suboles ; nascere, magne puer.'

In *Aen.* x. 228 Virgil calls Aeneas 'deum gens.' Martyn concludes his *Life of Virgil* with some lines by 'the celebrated

Enter thy kingdom now, for the hour is swiftly approaching,
Best-loved son of the gods, great Jove's posterity greatest.
See how the universe at thy feet bows humbly adoring,
Far-stretching earth and sea, and the unplumbed heaven's abysses.
See how Nature is glad with the wonderful Age's arousal.
O may I then be found in the eve of a long life's ending
Living, with breath to recite to the world thy mighty achievements.
Ne'er should I conquered be by the songs of Thracian Orpheus,
Nor by Linus, tho' each should call his parent to aid him,
Calliopea the one, and lovely Apollo the other.
Pan, if he strove to outsing me before Arcadian judges,
Pan himself in Arcadian courts would acknowledge me victor.
Come, little Babe, and laugh with joy at thy mother's caresses,

---

Vida,' in which Virgil himself is called 'soboles certissima Phoebi . . . Vocem animumque deo similis.'

61. Roman law recognized ten months as the period of gestation. Ovid has 'Bis quino femina mense parit.' *Cf.* Wisd. vii. 2: 'And in the womb of a mother was I moulded into flesh in the time of ten months.' Ten lunar months are nearly equal to nine calendar months.

(matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses)

incipe, parve puer: qui non risere parenti,[1]

nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

60-63. See Appendix A.

As an afterthought I consulted Holdsworth's *Remarks on Virgil*,[2] and was surprised and interested to find that he reads 'qui . . . parentes,' quotes Quintilian's note, and says this about it. As I have not seen it in any commentary, I give the passage in full:

'It is manifest from this passage, that Quintilian read "qui," not "cui," as, indeed, the sense of the place requires; for the good omen arose from the smiling of the child upon the parents, not the smiling of the parents upon the child. This latter is a usual and natural expression of affection; has nothing extraordinary in it, nor is it to be looked upon as an omen;

[1] V. l. 'cui . . . parentes.'

[2] Published in 1768.

Her who for thee hath borne ten long months' tedious waiting.
Laugh, little Babe, e'en now: who wins not a mother's affection,
He no table of gods may share, nor the couch of a goddess.

---

though the smiling of an infant newly born, and thus acknowledging its parents, might be esteemed such. But the uncommonness of construction in the phrase "risere parentes" puzzled the grammarians; and this difficulty introduced the reading "cui" in Virgil, contrary to the poet's meaning; and in Quintilian's quotation also, contrary to the rhetorician's own testimony and explication. "Risere parentes" is the same with "adrisere parentibus," as "volabat littus arenosum Libyae" is the same with "advolabat littori," in another place of Virgil (*Aen.* iv. 256), where the same difficulty had long established a pointing altogether inconsistent with any sense.'

THE FOURTH ECLOGUE IN BIBLICAL ENGLISH

O YE Spirits that dwell in the land of Sicily, open ye my lips that I may sing of greater things than these. For some delight not in the lowly bush and the humble tamarisk-tree. If I sing of woods, let princes be joyful in my song.

Now is come the last age whereof the Lord spake by the seer that was in Cumae; the world is born again, as it was in the beginning. The Virgin, the daughter of Righteousness, returneth; the kingdom of God returneth from the ancient days, the generations of old. Behold, he sendeth down a second Adam from on high.

O thou pure Lucina, look favourably upon this child with thine eyes; for at his birth the vile creation shall pass away, and the sons of glory shall arise and shine in all the world. Behold, thy God reigneth.

Thou, Pollio, shalt be our prince when the times of glory are come in, and the new moons begin their mighty march. Then if aught remain unpurged of our fathers' sins and iniquities, it shall be done away; and the earth shall fear no evil for evermore.

The king shall walk with God, and join the com-

pany of the mighty ones and the heavenly hosts, and he shall rule the nations that his father's righteousness hath reconciled. Then earth herself shall make speed to bring thee gifts, O child, from fields wherein the plower plowed not and the sower sowed not his seed; and the ivy and the foxglove and the lily and the acanthus shall blossom for thee together, yea, they shall laugh and sing. Thy she-goats shall give abundance of milk, neither shall the goatherd drive them to the cotes; and no lions shall make thy cattle afraid. Thy cradle shall overflow with delightsome flowers. The serpent shall be no more; the venomous herb shall vanish away; Assyrian spikenard shall fill all lands with his perfume.

But when thou shalt be able to read of the praise of famous men and the valiant deeds of thy father, and to know the excellency of goodness, the wilderness and the solitary place shall begin to grow white unto harvest, and the wild brier shall bring forth ripe grapes, and hard oak-trees shall drop sweet honey.

Howbeit the remnant of the former transgressions shall not be utterly destroyed, but men shall go down to the sea in ships, and build fenced cities, and cleave furrows in the earth, to provoke the Lord their God. And then shall there be another Tiphys, and another gallant ship filled with chosen men of war; yea, there shall be new wars, and great Achilles shall go up to Troy again to war against it.

Afterward, when thou art come to man's estate, the seafaring man shall cease, and no galley with

oars shall exchange her merchandise, for the earth shall yield her increase to all the nations. No more shall men vex the ground with harrows, neither shall the pruner prune the vine any more; the plowman shall not fail nor faint, and the oxen that ear the ground shall be loosed from under the yoke. And wool shall no more learn deceit with divers colours, but the rams themselves shall put on their beautiful garments in the pastures; and some shall be arrayed in Tyrian purple, and some in yellow of saffron; yea, the lambs shall be all-glorious with scarlet in the fields.

Then the watchers and the holy ones, that wait upon the Lord to do his will, shall cry one to another saying, Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy years endure for ever and ever.

Receive honour and glory and blessing, for thine hour is come, O Son of God greatly beloved, O mighty Branch of the Lord. Behold how the whole creation falleth down before thy throne to worship thee, the earth and the sea and the heavens together; behold how all things break forth into joy and singing for the glory of the kingdom which is to come.

O that the Lord would grant unto me length of days, and would put his spirit upon me, that I might tell of thy marvellous acts. So shall my words please him, and all the trees of the wood shall rejoice before the Lord; worship him, all ye gods.

Let thy mouth be filled with laughter, O child, when thy mother dandleth thee upon the knees;

for she hath carried thee in the womb ten months, and hath pain. Yea, let thy tongue be filled with joy; for whoso is born in sorrow, he shall not eat and drink in the kingdom of God, neither shall he take an holy one to wife.

GEORGIC I. 118-146.

NEC tamen, haec cum sint hominumque boumque labores
versando terram experti, nihil improbus anser
Strymoniaeque grues et amaris intiba fibris 120
officiunt aut umbra nocet. pater ipse colendi
haud facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem
movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda,
nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno.
ante Iovem nulli subigebant arva coloni; 125
ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum
fas erat: in medium quaerebant, ipsaque tellus
omnia liberius nullo poscente ferebat.

---

122. Labour is not a punishment for sin, but necessary for man's development. 'Everything which makes life easier, makes it poorer, less noble, less human, less Godlike' (Bishop Westcott, *Lessons from Work*). 'Hate not laborious work, neither husbandry which the Most High hath ordained' (Ecclus. vii. 15).

'Man alone is sent into the world naked and helpless, and perpetually urged by his necessities to the exercise and cultiva-

GEORGIC I. 118-146. (See p. 46.)

And yet when man and beast have spared no pain
To tame the earth, the unconscionable goose,
Strymonian crane, and bitter succory,
Cease not to plague; likewise the grievous shade.
No unlaborious path the Father willed.
He first taught method as the means, and spurred
The wits of men by cares, and suffered not
His realms to slumber 'neath inveterate sloth.
Before Jove's reign no farmers tilled the soil;
No fence or boundary-stone to mark the fields
Religion sanctioned: to the common store
All labour tended, and the earth herself
Gave all more freely for that no man asked.
Then Jove endowed that cursèd thing, the snake,
With venom, and the wolf with thirst for blood,

---

tion of his faculties. This view of the utility of physical evil is finely illustrated by the elegant Virgil: "Pater ipse colendi . . . *curis acuens mortalia corda*," etc.' (Buffon, *Birds*, vol. i., p. 412).

127. Among Teutonic races common property is earliest (see Maine's *Ancient Law*). The socialism or communism of Acts ii. 44 seems to have been a temporary experiment of a voluntary and sporadic kind.

ille malum virus serpentibus addidit atris,
praedarique lupos iussit pontumque moveri, 130
mellaque decussit foliis ignemque removit,
et passim rivis currentia vina repressit,
ut varias usus meditando extunderet artis
paulatim, et sulcis frumenti quaereret herbam,
ut silicis venis abstrusum excuderet ignem. 135
tunc alnos primum fluvii sensere cavatas;
navita tum stellis numeros et nomina fecit,
Pleiadas, Hyadas, claramque Lycaonis Arcton;
tum laqueis captare feras et fallere visco
inventum et magnos canibus circumdare saltus; 140
atque alius latum funda iam verberat amnem
alta petens, pelagoque alius trahit umida lina;
tum ferri rigor atque argutae lammina serrae
(nam primi cuneis scindebant fissile lignum),
tum variae venere artes. labor omnia vicit 145
improbus et duris urgens in rebus egestas.

---

131. *Cf. Eclogue* iv. 30 and *Georg.* iv. 1.

133 *et sqq.* *Cf.* Lucretius V. 1281 to end, and Aeschylus, *P.V.* 436-506.

135. 'Men perished in winter-winds till one smote fire
From flint-stones coldly hiding what they held,
The red spark treasured from the kindling sun.'
(Sir Edwin Arnold, *Light of Asia.*)

139. 'The blithe swift careless races
On light wing flying in air
With speed of his wit he chases
And takes in a woven snare.

Lashed the still sea, shook honey off the trees,
Robbed men of fire, and emptied river-beds
Which flowed apace with wine; to make men prove
And hammer out by practice divers arts;
Now slowly learning how to plough and sow,
Now striking from flint-vein the lurking fire.
Then rivers first the hollowed alder felt;
Then sailors told the number of the stars
And called them by their names, the brilliant Bear,
Lycaon's child, Pleiad and Hyad too;
Then came the wiles of trapping and the use
Of birdlime, then too hounds were trained to watch
Large covert-sides. And some with cast-net flog
The river's breadth and try the deepest pools,
While others scour the sea with dripping mesh.
Then strident saws were born of stubborn steel—
For logs were cleft with splintering wedge before—
Then divers arts ensued. Toil conquered all,
Unconquerable Toil, and Poverty,
The spur of hungry men.

All deer in the wild wood running,
The deep sea's diverse kind,
Are snared in toils by the cunning
Of Man's outrivalling mind.'
(Sophocles, *Antigone*, 343. Walter Headlam's translation.)

146. 'Necessity is the mother of invention.' Much the same thoughts about poverty are found in Theocritus (xxi. 1), Aristophanes (*Plut.* 533), and Plautus (*Stich.* i. 3. 24). But in the sixth *Aeneid* (276) she appears in Hades as '*Turpis* Egestas,' in the company of Fear, Hunger, Disease, Old Age, and Death. Labour is there too, as in the pathetic passage, beloved of

GEORGIC II. 458—END.[1]

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
agricolas! quibus ipsa procul discordibus armis
fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus; 460
si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam,
nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postis
inlusasque auro vestis Ephyreiaque aera,
alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno, 465
nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi;
at secura quies et nescia fallere vita,

[1] 'Neither Virgil nor any other poet has surpassed this passage' (Sellar). Heyne calls it 'locus nobilissimus, cuius pulcritudinem qui non sentiat, is nec dignus sit cui enarretur.' *Cf.* Horace, *Odes* III. i., and *Epode* ii.; Shakespeare, 3 *Henry* VI. ii. 5; and Thomson's *Seasons: Autumn*, 1232 *et sqq.*

Dr. Johnson, in the third *Georgic* (66-68). *Cf.* Ps. xc. 10: 'Yet is their strength then but labour and sorrow.'

The word 'improbus,' which I have rendered here by 'unconquerable,' is used of the goose in line 119 above. Elsewhere Virgil applies it to the crow, the snake, the wolf, and the eagle. Martial uses it of a long sleep (xii. 18. 13). It means relentless, remorseless, persistent, tiresome, or unconscionable. Here, of course, it has a good sense.

Some further observations on the whole of this passage, and its possible connection with Genesis, will be found in Appendix B. The following lines show the ancient idea finally developed by a modern poet:

GEORGIC II. 458—END. (See p. 56.)

O FARMERS all too blest, could they but know
The blessings that are theirs, for whom Earth pours
From her own breast an easy sustenance,
Remote from war's mellay, most righteous Earth!
No portals proud of lofty palaces
Pour from each room long waves of morning guests;
None gape at dædal door-posts tortoise-decked,
And raiment shot with frivolous gold, and bronze,
The pride of Corinth; white wool is not stained
With poisons of Assyria, nor doth oil
Yield its pure service to the cassia's wiles.
But careless peace and life that knows no guile,

'God dreamed a man;
Then, having firmly shut
Life like a precious metal in his fist,
Withdrew, His labour done. Thus did begin
Our various divinity and sin.
For some to ploughshares did the metal twist,
And others, dreaming empires, straightway cut
Crowns for their aching foreheads. Others beat
Long nails and heavy hammers for the feet
Of their forgotten Lord. (Who dares to boast
That he is guiltless?) Others coined it: most
Did with it—simply nothing. (Here, again,
Who cries his innocence?) Yet doth remain
Metal unmarred, to each man more or less,
Whereof to fashion perfect loveliness.'

(F. W. Harvey, *Poems from a German Prison Camp.*)

458. 'Le mot triste et doux de Virgile: "O heureux homme de champs, s'il connaissait son bonheur," est un regret, mais comme tous les regrets, c'est aussi une prediction. Un jour viendra où le labourer pourra être aussi un artiste, si non pour exprimer (ce qui importera assez peu alors) du moins pour sentir le beau' (George Sand).

dives opum variarum, at latis otia fundis
(speluncae vivique lacus et frigida Tempe
mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni) 470
non absunt ; illic saltus ac lustra ferarum,
et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus,
sacra deum sanctique patres ; extrema per illos
Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae, 475
quarum sacra fero, ingenti percussus amore,
accipiant caelique vias et sidera monstrent,
defectus solis varios lunaeque labores ;
unde tremor terris, qua vi maria alta tumescant
obicibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa residant, 480
quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles
hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.
sin has ne possim naturae accedere partis
frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis,
rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes, 485

---

474. Justice is the 'Virgo' who returns to the earth in *Eclogue* iv. 6.

475 *et sqq.* 'And he was happy, if to know
Causes of things, and far below
His feet to see the lurid flow
Of terror and insane distress
And headlong fate, be happiness.'
(M. Arnold, *Memorial Verses to Wordsworth.*)

'The first wish of Virgil was to be a good philosopher ; the

Profuse in divers wealth, broad lands and ease,
Grottoes and living lakes, Tempe's cool vales,
Lulled by the low of kine soft slumber sweet
Beneath a tree, glades and the haunts of beasts,
All these they have. Youth tolerant of toil
And faring humbly, reverence for age,
Gods had in honour, these their portion are.
When Justice fled this world of wickedness,
'Twas in their midst that her last steps were seen.
Now be my chiefest prayer that the sweet Maids
Whose priest I am, and whom I greatly love,
The Muses, may receive me and instruct
In all the ways of heaven and the stars,
The sun's eclipses and the travailings
That vex the moon; what makes the earth to shake,
What power persuades the mighty sea to swell,
Break bounds and refluent on himself recoil;
Whence is that eagerness of winter suns
To plunge in ocean, whence the long delay
That binds the winter nights. But if the blood
Run cold about my heart, nor suffer me
To touch these mysteries of Nature's realm,
Green fields and stream-fed valleys be my joy,

---

second, a good husbandman; and God, whom he seemed to understand better than most of the learned heathens, dealt with him just as he did with Solomon: because he prayed for wisdom in the first place, he added all things else which were subordinately to be desired. He made him one of the best philosophers, and the best husbandman, and to adorn and communicate both those faculties, the best poet: He made him besides all this a rich man, and a man who desired to be no richer' (Cowley).

flumina amem silvasque inglorius. o ubi campi
Spercheusque et virginibus bacchata Lacaenis
Taygeta! o qui me gelidis convallibus Haemi
sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra!
felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas, 490
atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum
subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari.
fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestis
Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.
illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum 495
flexit et infidos agitans discordia fratres,
aut coniurato descendens Dacus ab Histro,
non res Romanae perituraque regna; neque ille
aut doluit miserans inopem aut invidit habenti.
quos rami fructus, quos ipsa volentia rura 500
sponte tulere sua, carpsit, nec ferrea iura
insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit.
sollicitant alii remis freta caeca, ruuntque
in ferrum, penetrant aulas et limina regum;

---

490. In this passage Virgil is thinking either of Lucretius, or of Epicurus, or possibly of both.

499. Servius and many others see a trace of Stoic apathy here. But the meaning seems to be that in the country there are no extremes of wealth and poverty, and therefore no one who needs pity or excites envy, for all are happy and contented. Virgil, we know, was not indifferent to suffering; and

Rivers and woodlands be my humble love.
O for the plains, Spercheüs and the mount
That bears the revellings of Spartan maids,
Taÿgetus! O for cool Hæmian dells!
Leave me there canopied with endless shade.
  Happy was he whose wit availed to grasp
The origin of things, who trampled low
The thronging horrors of unpitying death
And roarings of unsated Acheron!
Blest too is he who knows the rural gods,
Pan and grey-haired Silvanus and the Nymphs,
Sweet sisters! He regards no lictor's rod;
No royal robes distract his gaze, no strife
That rends unbrothered brothers, no descent
Of Dacian horde from privy Danube's flood,
Nor Rome's own turmoil and the doom that broods
O'er other kingdoms; never pitied he
Him that hath not, nor envied him that hath.
What fruits the branches, what the willing earth,
Freely afford, he gathers, nor beholds
State archives, ruthless laws and city broils.
Others may vex the treacherous firth with oars
And rush upon the sword; through palaces
And courts of kings their headlong course they hold.
One blasts with ruin town and hapless home,

---

his master, Epicurus, is described by Diogenes Laertius as remarkable, not only for piety to his parents, but also for kindness to his servants, and charity (φιλανθρωπία) toward all.

500. This line, like 460, is more in tune with the fourth *Eclogue* than with the 'labor improbus' tone of the first *Georgic*. Virgil writes as though the Golden Age were already come.

hic petit excidiis urbem miserosque penatis, 505
ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro;
condit opes alius defossoque incubat auro;
hic stupet attonitus rostris, hunc plausus hiantem
per cuneos geminatus enim plebisque patrumque
corripuit; gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum, 510
exsilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant
atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem.
agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro:
hinc anni labor, hinc patriam parvosque nepotes
sustinet, hinc armenta boum meritosque iuvencos. 515
nec requies, quin aut pomis exuberet annus
aut fetu pecorum aut Cerealis mergite culmi,
proventuque oneret sulcos atque horrea vincat.
venit hiems: teritur Sicyonia baca trapetis,
glande sues laeti redeunt, dant arbuta silvae; 520
et varios ponit fetus autumnus, et alte
mitis in apricis coquitur vindemia saxis.

---

507. *Cf.* 2 *Henry* IV. iv. 5:

> 'For this they have engrossed and pilèd up
> The cankered heaps of strange-achievèd gold.'

505-510. In these lines allusions have been seen to Pompey, Caesar, Crassus, Cinna, Marius, Catiline, Lucullus, Hortensius, and Cicero. But exact identification is out of place.

513-514. A good comment on the work of the farmer in time of war. He feeds not only his own family, but also his

Lusting to quaff the jewelled cup and sleep
On Sarra's[1] purple dyes; another hoards
And gloats o'er buried gold. While these are rapt
With wonder at the tribune's flow of words,
Those gape and stare at peers and populace,
Rolling their frequent plaudits through the rows
Not once nor twice. Some wade through brothers' blood
Triumphant, changing all the sweets of home
For exile kingdoms 'neath an alien sky.
Meantime the husbandman with crooked plough
Has cleft the earth: hence labour's yearly meed,
Hence feeds he little child and fatherland,
Hence are milch-cow and honest ox maintained.
Earth never rests: either with fruit she flows,
Or with young lambs, or with the wheaten sheaf
Beloved of Ceres: increase loads the drills
And barns are overcome. Now winter's here,
And Sicyon's berry makes the oil-press move,
The swine plod homeward acorn-sleek, the woods
Yield arbutes; many-fruited Autumn lays
Her produce down; on sunny rocks o'erhead

---

country. (If Conington had been living now, he would scarcely have suggested that 'hamlet' makes better sense!)

'In opposition to all these vexations and solicitudes, the poet tells us the husbandman has only the labour of ploughing, which supports his country and his own family. And, to recompense his labours, there is no part of the year which does not produce something to his benefit. To crown all, he tells us he is happy in a virtuous wife and dear children; he is delighted with the sight of his cattle; and diverts himself with rural sports on holy days' (Martyn).

[1] Tyre.

interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati,
casta pudicitiam servat domus, ubera vaccae
lactea demittunt, pinguesque in gramine laeto 525
inter se adversis luctantur cornibus haedi.
ipse dies agitat festos fususque per herbam,
ignis ubi in medio et socii cratera coronant,
te libans, Lenaee, vocat pecorisque magistris
velocis iaculi certamina ponit in ulmo, 530
corporaque agresti nudant praedura palaestra.
hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
hanc Remus et frater, sic fortis Etruria crevit
scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces. 535
ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis et ante
impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvencis,

---

523. Those who know their Lucretius will remember 'that wonderful passage (iii. 894), which Virgil himself never equalled, and which in its lofty passion, its piercing tenderness, the stately roll of its cadences, is perhaps unmatched in human speech' (Mackail). Gray has an echo of it in the *Elegy:*

'For them no more the blazing hearth shall burn,
Or busy housewife ply her evening care;
No children run to lisp their sire's return,
Or climb his knees the envied kiss to share.'

524. 'This is opposed to the frequent adulteries, which are committed in cities' (Martyn).

537. The impiety of killing and eating the ox, the friend of man, is mentioned by many ancient writers. Aratus says the men of the Bronze Age were the first to make swords and eat

The vintage mellows to the ripening sun.
His darling children cling and kiss the while,
His chaste home keeps its purity, the cows
Drag udders deep, and in the meadows lush
Kids fat and bonny wrestle horn to horn.
The husbandman himself keeps holiday,
And on the greensward round the altar fire,
Pours wine and hails thee, wine-press god; the while
His comrades wreathe the bowl. Then on the elm
He sets a mark, whereat with wingèd dart
His shepherds vie, and for the wrestling match
The rustic bares his horny nerve and thew.
Such was the life the Sabines lived of yore,
Such Remus and his twin; 'twas this, in sooth,
That made Etruria strong, and Rome herself
The fairest thing the world hath ever seen,
Seven hills enfolded in one city wall.
Before the sceptred sway of Dicte's Jove,
Before men banqueted on slaughtered kine,

---

the plough-oxen. Varro and Columella say it was formerly a capital crime to kill an ox. India seems to have preserved the tradition. *Cf.* the beautiful passage in *Georg.* iii. 515; and Ovid, *Met.* xv. 72 *et sqq.*, a passage dear to all antikreophagous scholars.

> 'No flocks that range the valley free
> To slaughter I condemn;
> Taught by that Power that pities me,
> I learn to pity them.
>
> 'But from the mountain's grassy side
> A guiltless feast I bring;
> A scrip with herbs and fruits supplied,
> And water from the spring.'
>
> (*The Vicar of Wakefield*, ch. viii.)

aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat;
necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum
impositos duris crepitare incudibus ensis. 540

Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus aequor,
et iam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla.

Georgic II. 458—end

Whose blood be on them! golden Saturn lived
A life like this on earth. Not yet was heard
The blare of martial clarion, not yet
Upon hard anvil clanged the sounding sword.
Lo! many laps our mares have run: 'tis time
To loose the harness from their smoking crests.

APPENDIX A

The Last Four Lines of the Eclogue.

In the last four lines we have three readings:

(1) 'Cui non risere parentes.' This is the reading of the MSS., and is accepted by most editors.

(2) 'Qui non risere parentes' (Quintilian and Scaliger).

(3) 'Qui non risere parenti' (Bonnell, Benoist, and other editors).

Conington thought Quintilian probably found 'quoi' in his copy, and read it as 'qui' rather than 'cui.' Mr. Warde Fowler supports his reading with much skill and learning (*M.E.*, p. 71 *et sqq.*). The third reading appears in Sir F. A. Hirtzel's new Oxford text of Virgil, and is adopted by Mr. Mackail in the last edition of his translation (1915). 'Of them who have not smiled on a parent, never was one honoured at a god's board or on a goddess's couch.'

Dr. Postgate has conjectured 'hinc' for 'hunc.' 'The transition from "qui" to "hunc" would be inexcusably harsh in a simple passage' (Conington).

Where Quintilian and Scaliger lead, certainly no one need fear to follow; but Professor Conway (*M.E.*, p. 8) gives what seem to me sufficient reasons for keeping the reading of the MSS., and I must confess myself one of those timid scholars who refuse the fence that Mr. Warde

Fowler offers them so persuasively. The MSS. reading seems to me to make excellent sense after all. When a baby smiles on him, even a man usually tries to return the compliment. 'Cui non risere parentes' is the answer to 'risu cognoscere matrem.' I am glad to find that Wagner supports this conclusion: 'Incipe ergo tuo risu parentes ad mutuam arrisionem provocare.' It agrees with Servius. Pliny says it is unusual for a baby to smile before it is forty days old: 'Et hercule risus, praecox ille et celerrimus, ante quadragesimum diem nulli datur.' He mentions Zoroaster as the only man who ever smiled on the day of his birth.[1] Hence Martyn and others, including Heyne, and Calverley in his translation, understand 'risu' of the mother, not the child, and compare the woman in travail forgetting her anguish, that we read of in S. John's Gospel.

The allusion to Hercules and Juno which Mr. Warde Fowler finds in the last line is extremely interesting; but perhaps, as he suggests, the passage may be put in the mouth of an Italian nurse at the birth of the child, and simply means—'a dull infant comes to a bad end.' Martyn has a long quotation from Ruaeus, which is worth referring to.

Facciolati, under 'rideo,' quotes Quintilian's reading and his explanation of it,[2] and says further: 'infans, cui parentes . . . non arrisere, neque mensae admissus est ab Hercule, neque lecto ab Junone.'

Professor Conway's double-faced translation—'Whoso is born in sorrow'—should satisfy all parties. I have

[1] This reminds me that the late Dr. J. H. Moulton, of whom a German torpedo has robbed the world prematurely, found traces of Zoroastrianism in the *Eclogue*.

[2] 'Ex illis enim qui non risere, hunc non dignatus Deus, nec Dea dignata' (Quint. ix. 3).

attempted something of the kind in my hexameter version.

NOTE 1. See p. 2.

The theory that the child is the Marcellus of the sixth *Aeneid* (855 and following), the son of Octavia, half-sister to Augustus, has few supporters now; but Catrou, the Jesuit, was so sure of it that he rechristened this *Eclogue* 'The Marcellus.' In line 49 he sees the adoption of Marcellus by Augustus.

Conington suggests that Virgil may have had all three families in mind, and have hoped that his prophecy would come true of at least one of them. Virgil certainly had some sense of humour, and probably knew his poem was a puzzle, and enjoyed the thought of the trouble that it would give to commentators. But this is not the way to gain favour in Germany, where 'Virgil-baiting' is said to be a national pastime.

NOTE 2. See p. 40.

Dean Inge[1] alludes to 'the deep saying of Troeltsch, that Catholicism is not the first creative achievement of the Middle Ages, but the last-born child of the ancient civilization, the form in which the empires of Alexander and of Caesar lived on after the downfall of the classical culture.'

The Roman Church has been likened to the ghost of the Roman Empire sitting crowned upon its own grave; and it has been said with some truth that the Church and the Empire are but two aspects of the same society.

Sir William Ramsay[2] says that 'Christianity was in

[1] *Modern Churchman*, October, 1917, p. 276.
[2] *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 192.

reality not the enemy but the friend of the empire, that the empire grew far stronger when the Emperors became Christian, that the religious attitude of the earlier centuries was a source of weakness rather than of strength.' Finlay, in his *History of Greece*, agrees with Ramsay. Gibbon, as is well known, takes the opposite view.

NOTE 3. See p. 40.

'It is not surprising to find the poetry of the prophetic writings hardened into fact by Jewish literalism; but it is strange when the products of this mode of interpretation are attributed to our Lord Himself on authority no less ancient than that of Papias of Hierapolis, professedly drawing from the tradition of S. John. Yet Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* V. xxxiii. 3) quotes in such terms the following: "The days will come, in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand branches, and on each branch again ten thousand twigs, and on each twig ten thousand clusters, and on each cluster ten thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed shall yield five and twenty measures of wine. . . . Likewise also a grain of wheat shall produce ten thousand heads, and every head shall have ten thousand grains, and every grain ten pounds of fine flour, bright and clean; and the other fruits, seeds, and the grass shall produce in similar proportions, and all the animals using these fruits which are products of the soil, shall become in their turn peaceable and harmonious."'[1]

NOTE 4. See p. 65.

'For Rome alone history not merely performed miracles, but also repeated the miracles, and twice cured

[1] Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 211.

the internal crisis, which in the State itself was incurable, by regenerating the State. There was doubtless much corruption in this regeneration; as the union of Italy was accomplished over the ruins of the Samnite and Etruscan nations, so the Mediterranean monarchy built itself on the ruins of countless states and tribes once living and vigorous; but it was a corruption out of which sprang a fresh growth, part of which remains green at the present day.[1]

'With the reign of Augustus a new age seemed to have begun, the years of peace had returned—it was the work of the gods. Just as the Jews had comforted themselves with the hope that the Kingdom of God was at hand, the Romans were proud to believe that it had already come, nor . . . was it difficult to believe that Augustus . . . was himself divine.'[2]

'Never but under the divine Augustus, who was sole ruler, and under whom a perfect monarchy existed, was the world everywhere quiet. And that then the human race was happy in the tranquillity of universal peace, this is the witness of all writers of history; this is the witness of famous poets; this, too, he who wrote the story of the "meekness and gentleness" of Christ has thought fit to attest. And last of all, Paul has called that most blessed condition "the fulness of the times."'[3]

[1] Mommsen, vol. v., p. 440.

[2] Kirsopp Lake, *The Stewardship of Faith*, p. 62.

[3] Dante, *De Monarchia*, I. xvi. (F. J. Church's translation). On Augustus; *cf.* also Tacitus, *Annals* i. 9, and Horace, *Odes* I. ii. 41—end, and III. iii. 9-12, and v. 3.

APPENDIX B

The Literary Sources of the Eclogue.

Had Virgil read the Book of Isaiah? It is not impossible. Macrobius tells us that he drew matter 'from the most recondite learning of the Greeks.' If he was learned in Alexandrian literature, he very likely knew the Septuagint. Dean Merivale suggested long ago in his *History of Rome* that Virgil might have borrowed from the Alexandrian versifiers of the Hebrew prophets. These men translated some of the Old Testament into Homeric hexameters.[1] But Mr. Garrod (*Classical Review*, 1905, p. 37) suggests that Josephus gives us the key to the fourth *Eclogue*, every word of which, in Mr. Garrod's opinion, is coloured with Jewish ideas. The two sons of Herod, Alexander and Aristobulus, were brought up at Rome. Josephus says they lodged with Pollio, who was 'very fond of Herod's friendship; and they had leave to lodge in Caesar's own palace; for he received these sons of Herod with all humanity, and gave Herod leave to give his kingdom to which of his sons he pleased.'[2]

It was in 40 B.C., the year of the *Eclogue*, that Herod fled to Rome, and was made King of Judaea. The only doubt which occurs to me is whether Virgil had had time to learn anything through the Herod and Pollio friend-

[1] Merivale, bk. ii., ch. vii.

[2] Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, bk. xv., ch. x. 1. Whiston's translation.

ship before 40 B.C. But Pollio, Mr. Garrod thinks, must have had some Jewish relations. We know that he was himself a poet, and he probably used some Jewish thought and sentiment in his poems. Virgil, in addressing him, would be likely to do the same. There was actually a Jewish Pollio, mentioned by Josephus as 'Pollio, a Pharisee.' It was he who advised the Jews to accept Herod as their King. Was he a cousin of our Asinius Pollio?

There are other facts which point in the same direction. We know that there was a colony of Jews in Egypt. Jeremiah refers to them (xliv. 1), and much interesting light has been thrown on their life by the Elephantinè papyri. Greeks came in contact with them there, and Jewish scriptures may easily have reached Rome through Greek channels. 'Besides, we have plenty of evidence to show that, in this time of the breaking up of old faiths, more than one Eastern religion exercised an extraordinary attraction at Rome.'[1]

Dr. Mayor adduces weighty reasons for thinking that Virgil's Cumaeum Carmen, or Cumaea Sibylla (*Aen.* vi. 98), was of Jewish origin. He continues his theme in the *Classical Review* for 1908, p. 143. Dr. Rendel Harris, in his article on the Sibylline Oracles (*DB.*, vol. v., p. 66)[2] tells us that the Sibylline writings cover a period reaching from 'at least the second century B.C., and coming down (when its latest developments are included) far into the Middle Ages.' Almost all the Christian Fathers believed in their inspiration, and the one which influenced them most was the Cumaean Sibyl. The original collection

[1] Mayor, *M.E.*, p. 107.

[2] There is an article on the same subject in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and also in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1877.

of Sibylline Oracles perished in the great fire at Rome in 83 B.C. The third book, which is the oldest of those extant, was composed in Egypt in 166 or 165 B.C. Dr. Mayor gives some striking quotations from it. The most remarkable is iii. 787-794, which is almost exactly reproduced in Isa. xi.[1] Even the straw-eating lion is there. Virgil's relation to Isaiah here has already been discussed. But what are we to make of the passages where Virgil resembles Isaiah, but where the Sibyl offers no parallel? It seems to me probable that all three owe something to an earlier common original, just as 'Q' is said to underlie the three synoptic Gospels.

The literary sources of Isaiah we can only guess at, but there is good reason to suppose that he made use of pre-existing material. Canon Box,[2] in a valuable appendix on Gressmann's views, refers to 'the abrupt allusive style' of ix. 1-6 as implying this. Some old prophecy is now to be fulfilled, and its ideas and language, including the very titles of the Messiah, are adapted to a higher use. In its present form the Book is a post-exilic compilation. Dr. Buchanan Gray[3] thinks it was not finally completed till about 150 B.C., which is the date of the Greek version. Even after this date it may have received a few minor additions, but the close of the canon of the Old Testament in 100 B.C. precluded any further alterations. We are thus brought well within the period of the Sibylline Oracles, the third book of which is older than the Greek version, and also older than the present Hebrew text of Isaiah.

There is very little evidence that Virgil had read the whole Book of Isaiah. If he had, it seems to me probable that he would have shown more knowledge of

[1] See pp. 118, 119. [2] *Isaiah.*
[3] *Isaiah* (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*).

it, and of other Old Testament books. But the problem of suffering, which is worked out so fully in Deutero-Isaiah and the Wisdom literature, is rather felt than faced by him. *Aen.* v. 815, 'unum pro multis dabitur caput,' certainly suggests vicarious suffering, and Professor Conway has called my attention to its connection with the thought of Isa. lii. 13-liii.; but it can be paralleled by Euripides, *Electra*, 1026: ἔκτεινε πολλῶν μίαν ὕπερ. The thought of one life as 'a ransom for many' is scarcely unusual enough to be of evidential value here.

But Dr. Mayor has a stronger case, I think, when he finds traces of Genesis in *Georg.* i. 121 *et sqq.* Nimrod appears in line 139, Tubal-cain in 143, and Cain and Abel in 150 (*cf.* Gen. iv. and x.). The whole passage reminds one of the Fall-myth, especially of the stealing of knowledge from a jealous God (Gen. iii. 22), which may again be compared with the Greek story of Prometheus.[1] Compare also Enoch vi-xi, where the seeking out of many inventions follows the fall of the angels and the demoralization of man, and is finally followed by the Messianic kingdom. The Golden Age is thus placed in the future, as in other Jewish literature and the fourth *Eclogue;* and not in the past, as in the first *Georgic*. In the *Eclogue* Virgil seems to be combining the future Golden Age with the Stoic doctrine of a 'magnus annus.'[2] The belief in perpetual recurrence, or a series of cycles in which history repeats itself, was familiar enough to the ancients, and was adopted by Nietzsche. It is of course found in Plato, the seed-plot of all great ideas,[3] and has recently been championed by the Dean of S. Paul's.[4] We find it in the expected return of great

[1] *Cf.* Aesch. *P.V.* 436-471. [2] *Cf. M.E.*, pp. 16 and 108-110.
[3] *Cf. Rep.* 546. [4] *The Faith and the War*, p. 104.

men like Socrates and Elijah.[1] Even in 1917 we hear of an African native claiming to be Elijah and drawing many after him.

The Jews borrowed their terminology for the 'restoration' or 'regeneration' (*cf.* Matt. xvii. 11 and xix. 28, and Acts iii. 21) of all things from the Stoics; the Greeks in their turn borrowed from the Jews, and Virgil is indebted to both. But nations cannot be put in water-tight compartments, or classified and pigeon-holed intellectually. Thought is more international than language, and telepathy may have a great deal to do with the profoundly true saying that great minds think together.

A few other features in the language of the *Eclogue* point to Jewish influence. Sir William Ramsay has noticed some of them in the *Expositor* for 1907. The versification is peculiar. Let anyone who doubts this try learning the whole *Eclogue* by heart. 'Toss the lines up in a bag,' said Landor, 'and they fit anywhere.' There are over twenty full-stops at the ends of the lines, and none at all in the middle. The assonance of 'occidet et' and 'cedet et' is unpleasant. 'Magnus' is used seven times, but this may be an echo of the 'great year' with which the Golden Age begins in the 5th line. Was Virgil deliberately imitating Hebrew rhythm as well as Hebrew thought? Isaiah was a poet, and it is unfortunate that even the Revised Version fails to show that the greater part of the Book is in metrical form. But the laws which govern it are at present very imperfectly understood.[2] The late Mr. R. W. Raper thought the reference to 'Idumaeas' in *Georg.* iii. 12 meant that Virgil intended to write in the Hebrew style

[1] *Cf.* Mal. iv. 5.

[2] See K. Budde, 'Poetry,' *DB.*, vol. iv.

again. But it may easily be an *epitheton ornans*, or purely conventional epithet.

If then we sum up with a 'not proven,' we can no longer rest content with Kennedy's verdict, that the resemblance of the *Eclogue* to Isaiah is 'probably casual,' or with Conington's doubt 'whether Virgil uses any image to which a classical parallel cannot be found.' There may be interesting discoveries in store for anyone who combines classical learning with a knowledge of Oriental languages and literature.

APPENDIX C

Messianic Passages in Isaiah.

The following are the chief Messianic passages in the Book of Isaiah. I have followed the Revised Version, with the marginal readings, and only corrected it where I thought greater accuracy was needed. The translations of Canon G. H. Box and Mr. R. R. Ottley are most valuable.

ii. 4.[1]

And he shall judge between the nations, and shall arbitrate for many peoples, and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

vii. 14-16.

Therefore the Lord[2] himself shall give you a sign; behold, the young woman (or, a damsel) is with child, and beareth a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. Curds and honey shall he eat, when he knoweth to refuse the evil, and choose the good. For before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land whose two kings thou abhorrest shall be forsaken.

---

[1] *Cf.* Mic. iv. 3.

[2] 'Lord' in capitals indicates Yahweh or Jahveh in the Hebrew ('Jehovah').

ix. 5-7.

For every boot of the booted warrior in the tumult, and the garments rolled in blood, shall even be for burning, for fuel of fire. For a child is born unto us, a son is given unto us; and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful Counsellor, Hero-God, Father for ever, Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and of peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to establish it, and to uphold it with judgment and with righteousness from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the LORD of hosts shall perform this.

xi. 1-10.

And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a scion out of his roots shall bear fruit: and the spirit of the LORD shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the LORD; and he shall draw his breath in the fear of the LORD: and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither decide after the hearing of his ears: but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and decide with equity for the meek of the earth: and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins. And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid: and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall be friends; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the adder's den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea. And it shall come to pass in

that day, that the root of Jesse, which standeth for an ensign of the peoples, unto him shall the nations seek; and his resting-place shall be glorious.

xxxii. 1-2, and 17-18.

Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in judgment. And each one shall be as an hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.

And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness quietness and confidence for ever. And my people shall abide in a peaceful habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting-places.

xxxiii. 17.

Thine eyes shall see the King in His beauty: they shall behold a far-stretching land.

The following passage from Sibylline Oracles (iii. 788 *et sqq.*) is quoted by Dr. Mayor in the original.[1] This seems the best place to insert it. As it is in Greek hexameters of inferior quality, I have attempted an English rendering in the same metre:

Wolf with lamb shall graze in friendship sweet on the mountains,
Kid with leopard feed; and the bear with the calf roam harmless
Pasturing, lions eat flesh, no more, but chaff in a manger,
Ox-like; yea, in chains shall a young child easily lead them.
All wild beasts of the forest shall he make gentle for ever:
Adder and asp shall couch and sleep with babe and suckling:
None shall hurt any more, for the Lord's hand shall be upon them.

[1] *M.E.*, p. 127.

XXXV.

The wilderness and the parched land shall be glad ; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the narcissus. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing ; the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon : they shall see the glory of the LORD, the excellency of our God. Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not : behold your God ! vengeance will come, even the recompence of God : he will come and save you. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing : for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert. And the mirage shall become a pool, and the thirsty ground springs of water : in the habitation of jackals, where they lay, shall be grass with reeds and rushes. And an highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called The way of holiness ; the unclean shall not pass over it ; but it shall be for his people : the wayfaring men, yea fools, shall not err therein. No lion shall be there, nor shall any ravenous beast go up thereon, they shall not be found there ; but the redeemed shall walk there : and the ransomed of the LORD shall return, and come with singing unto Zion ; and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads : they shall obtain gladness and joy, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

xliv. 23.[1]

Sing, O ye heavens, for the LORD hath done it ; shout, ye lower parts of the earth ; break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree therein : for the LORD hath redeemed Jacob, and will glorify himself in Israel.

[1] *Cf.* xlix. 13.

Appendix C

lii. 7-9.

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth. The voice of thy watchmen: they lift up the voice, together do they sing; for they shall see, eye to eye, how the LORD returneth to Zion. Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the LORD hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem.

lv. 12-13.

For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills shall break forth into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle-tree: and it shall be to the LORD for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.

lxv. 17-25.

For, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former things shall not be remembered, nor come into mind. But be ye glad and rejoice for ever in that which I create: for, behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy. And I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people: and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying. There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old, and the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed. And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat: for as the days of a tree shall be the days of my people, and my chosen shall long enjoy the work of their hands. They shall not labour in

vain, nor bring forth for calamity; for they are the seed of the blessed of the LORD, and their offspring shall be with them. And it shall come to pass that, before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear. The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox, and dust shall be the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the LORD.

With the above passages may be compared Jer. xxiii. 5-6; xxxiii. 14-26; and Ezek. xxxiv. 23-end; xxxvi. 26-30; xxxvii. 21-28.

It is noticeable that the name of David occurs ten times in Isaiah, fifteen in Jeremiah, and altogether thirty-eight times in the Prophets. The 'house of David' was to the Jews what the family of the Caesars was to Virgil, but in a greater degree.

See Davidson, *O. T. Theology*, p. 25; and Plummer on Matt. i. 1.

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